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(CONTINUING "HEBRAICA")

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THE AMERICAN JOURNAL
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(CONTINUING "HEBRAICA")

VOLUME XXII

OCTOBER, 1905

NUMBER 1

NOTES ON THE CODE OF HAMMURABI.

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It is my purpose in these notes to give and to discuss the most important of the variant readings and translations of the commentators on the Code. In this list are included (1) those who have given a transliteration as a basis for their translation—Scheil,¹ Winckler,² Müller,³ and R. F. Harper;⁴ (2) those who have given translations only—Johns⁵ and Peiser;⁶ and (3) those who have given philological notes in pamphlets and journals. My purpose has also been to make the article as impersonal as possible (referring to my own translation as *HCH*) and to avoid all polemics, which may be a welcome contrast to many articles published on the Continent.

¹ *Mémoires publiés sous la direction de M. J. de Morgan*. Tome IV: *Textes élamites-sémitiques*. Deuxième Série. Accompagnée de 20 planches hors texte. Paris, 1902.

² *Die Gesetze Hammurabis in Umschrift und Übersetzung*. Dazu Einleitung, Wörter-, Eigennamen-Verzeichnis, die sog. Sumerischen Familiengesetze und die Gesetztafel Brit. Mus. 82-7-14, 988. Shortly after the appearance of Scheil's translation, Winckler issued a German translation of the Code under the title, *Die Gesetze Hammurabis Königs von Babylon um 2250 v. Chr.: Das älteste Gesetzbuch der Welt*, being No. 4 of *Der alte Orient*, IV. This has passed through three editions. My references are to the first-named book, which is the latest, appearing in 1904.

³ *Die Gesetze Hammurabis und ihr Verhältnis zur mosaischen Gesetzgebung sowie zu den xii Tafeln*. Text in Umschrift, deutsche und hebräische Übersetzung, Erläuterung und vergleichende Analyse.

⁴ *The Code of Hammurabi, King of Babylon about 2250 B. C.* Autographed Text, Transliteration, Translation, Glossary, Index of Subjects, Lists of Proper Names, Signs, Numerals, Corrections and Erasures, with Map, Frontispiece, and Photograph of Text. The University of Chicago Press, 1904.

⁵ *The Oldest Code of Laws in the World: The Code of Laws Promulgated by Hammurabi, King of Babylon, B. C. 2285-2242*. Edinburgh, 1903. Cf. also Johns' translations in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary* and in his *Babylonian and Assyrian Laws, Contracts and Letters*. The references in these notes are to the last-named, which appeared in 1904.

⁶ *Hammurabi's Gesetz*. Band I: *Übersetzung, Juristische Wiedergabe, Erläuterung*. Leipzig, 1904.

1, 1, *ilum šîrum*(I) = Anu. Scheil reads Êl, the Canaanitic form (Winckler), cf. 1, 45. 1, 8, read *kalâma* instead of *mâtîm*; so Scheil and Winckler. 1, 9, *mâr + rêštim*, I have taken as a compound: Scheil, *fiis ainê*; Winckler, *Herrschersohn*; Peiser, *Erstling*; Pinches, *Eldes*; Boscawen, *first-born*; Johns, *BALCL*, 390, *first-born*. 1, 11, read ^{ilu} *bêlu-ut* (II) with *HCH*, and cf. now Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 8, 2), Winckler, and Schorr, *WZKM*, XVIII, 209. Scheil reads *ilu bêt kit-tu*, *divin maître du Droit*; so also Peiser, *dem göttlichen Herrn des Rechts*; Boscawen, *the divine lord of righteousness*; Johns, *BALCL*, 390, *the lord god of right*. 1, 12, *kiššat*: Peiser makes *kiššat* the object of *išimûšum* instead of ^{ilu} *bêlût* of l. 10 with which it stands in the construct relation and translates *Knechtschaft*. 1, 30, for AH and HI = ', cf. Ungnad, *ZA*, XVII, 58. 1, 31, NI.NI: cf. Daiches, *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden*, 35, 36. 1, 44, read *nu-wu-ri-im*; cf. Ungnad, *ZA*, XVII, 356, 357, where he suggests as the root נִיר instead of נִיר. 1, 30–50, Boscawen's translation of this section violates several rules of grammar and lexicon. 1, 48, *tu-ub-bi-im* = *ṭubbim*. 1, 54, Winckler reads *mu-kam-me-ir* instead of *mu-gam-me-ir*, and translates *welcher aufhäuft Reichtum und Überfluss*. This reading is to be preferred. Cf. also 2, 44 and Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 47. 1, 56, *tu-uḫ-di-im*: cf. Zimmern, *ZDMG*, LVIII, 952, where he argues for a stem *ṭaḫâdu* rather than *daḫâdu* (III).

2, 1, *šuluḫ*, Scheil translates, *sanctuaire*; Winckler and Peiser, *Kult*. 2, 20, *bâbil*, בָּבֶל = *ובל*, cf. Ungnad, *ZA*, XVII, 357. 2, 22, *šar* is in st. const. with *ta-ši-im-tim*. 2, 23, DA. LUM = *dannum*, so also Scheil, Winckler, Ungnad, Schorr (*WZKM*, XVIII, 209). Peiser reads *Šamaš da-num* = *daiânum*, *Šamaš, des Richters*, a reading which cannot be accepted. 2, 25, read instead of *alu* (Scheil) with *HCH*; so also Ungnad, *ZA*, XVII, 361, 2), Winckler, and Schorr, *WZKM*, XVIII, 209. 2, 62, E.TE.ME.GUD(?), so Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 24. 2, 63–65, Delitzsch translates: *der da befestigt die erhabenen Satzungen der Nanna*, cf. Schorr, *WZKM*, XVIII, 210; cf. *HCH*, Glossary. 2, 68, *bit kisal*: Scheil, *boulevard*; Peiser, *Bollwerk*; Winckler, *Grab*. 2, 70, cf. Müller's identification of *kašâdu* with Hebrew לָכַד, and Peiser's note, *OLZ*, VII, 171.

3, 8, read ka-ad-ru-um and cf. Delitzsch, *OLZ*, 1904, 93, where he translates, *stolz*. **3, 11**, Scheil, Winckler, Schorr (*WZKM*, XVIII, 210) derive mu-ri-iš from רִנַּן to rejoice; Peiser and *HCH* from עָרַשׁ = erēšu, to plant, to cultivate. **3, 17** = mu-di bišit uzn-im, cf. Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 10. **3, 25–29**: Scheil, *sceptre et tiare dont il l'a investi, objet de l'affection de MAMA*; Peiser, *der Herr, berechtigt zu Scepter und Krone den sie vollenden lassen den Wunsch Mama's*; Winckler, *welchen erschuf die weise Ma-Ma*. Zimat is in apposition with bēlum and in the construct relation with ḥaṭṭim and agēm. *HCH* translates, *whom the wise god MA-MA has clothed with complete power*. Schorr (*WZKM*, XVIII, 210) accepts Winckler's translation for lack of something better. Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 11, says: "Eine Übersetzung zu geben, wage ich noch nicht" and "eristum¹¹ Mama ist mir noch unklar." Cf. Hunger, *Becherwahrung*, 26. **3, 38**, ša-i-im: Winckler, *welcher schuf*; cf. Peiser's note in which he suggests *kaufte*, a meaning which I do not think suits the context. **3, 67**, UD.NUN.KI = Adab (IV). **3, 70**, šar+alim, a compound plural, cf. also Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 11.

4, 1, šu, used as a relative pronoun, cf. **4, 9, 29**; cf. Winckler, *GH*, 6, who regards it as a scribal error for ša. **4, 10**, na-ga-ab ur-ši-im; Scheil translates *tous les réfractaires*, nagab being a constr. of nagbu, *Gesamtheit*. Uršim is very doubtful. Scheil guesses at the meaning and suggests the root of uršānu, or ḥuršim, *montagne*; Peiser translates *alle Feinde*; Winckler, *Schlupfwinkel der Banditen*; *HCH*, bandit caves(?); cf. Winckler for uršu, *GH*, 6, 11). Scheil's translation may be accepted for lack of a better. **4, 11**, cf. Daiches, *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden*, 86, 1). **4, 16**, in is a scribal error for im, cf. *HCH*. **4, 21**, DA.ER = dārūm; so also Ungnad, *ZA*, XVII, 359, 2. **4, 23**, literally, *the first in rank of city kings*. **4, 26**, UD.KIB.NUN.NA is a scribal error for UD.KIB.NUN.KI, so Winckler also. **4, 27**, Scheil reads ni-tum, so also Peiser; Winckler, li(ni, šal)-tum; *HCH*, šal-tum; cf. Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, where he suggests that litum may equal ina lit, *in der Kraft*. **4, 42**, kir-bu-um: Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 11, 12, suggests that -um is an adverbial ending and hence ḫirbum = ina ḫirib. **4, 53**, mu-še-bi ki-na-tim: Peiser's translation, *der schuf Familien*, cannot be entertained; cf. Schorr, *WZKM*,

XVIII, 211. 4, 54, cf. Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 12; Peiser, *der freimachte Claus*; Winckler, *der das Gesetz leitet*. 4, 59, mu-še-ib-bi na-bi-ḥi, Scheil translates, *qui a fait luire la splendeur*(?); Peiser, *der wegführen liess* . . . , taking mušebbi as a III, 1 of nabû. Winckler does not attempt a translation. The translation in *HCH* is only provisional. Cf. King, *HL*, 175: Ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi šar-ru-um ḫar-ra-du-um da-an-nu-um ša-ki-iš ai-bi a-bu-ub tu-ḫu-ma-tim za-bi-in mât za-i-ri mu-bi-il-li tu-uḫ-ma-tim mu-še-ib-bi za-aḥ-ma-ša-tim mu-ḥa-ab-bi-it mu-uḫ-tab-li ki-ma ša-lam ṭi-ṭi-im. King translates, *he putteth an end to insurrection*, taking mu-še-ib-bi as a II, 1, of šebû. 4, 62, u-šu-bi-u me-e^{1u} Nanâ: Scheil translated correctly, *a glorifié les noms de Ninni*. Peiser suggests the reading šib-e and translates, *der glänzen liess den Zeugen der Ninni*. I cannot accept either reading or translation.

5, 4, 5, cf. Daiches, *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden*, 85, 1). 5, 19, cf. for u-wa-e-ra-an-ni, Ungnad, *ZA*, XVII, 357. 5, 21, i-na pî ma-tim, cf. for this important passage Lyon's treatment in *JAOS*, XXV, 269–271, where he gives the correct interpretation. Scheil and Peiser read ka-ma-tim, *dans la contrée* and *ringsum*(?). Neither reading nor translation can be accepted. With Lyon it is to be read, "I established law and justice in the language of the land," *i. e.* in the vernacular. Lyon's argument for this interpretation is most interesting and convincing.

§ 1, 5, 26–32. For šumma, cf. Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 362, 363, who would translate *it is decreed* and regard the following clauses as principal rather than subordinate. For the enclitic ma with the verb and u between clauses in *CH*, cf. *MGH*, 246 sqq., 252 sqq., where a view is presented which must receive the special attention of students.¹ The meaning of this section turns upon the words ubbir and nêrtum. I am still inclined to retain the translation given in *HCH*. Abâru is used in the sense *to accuse*, *to make complaint against*, *to bring charges against*, cf. § 131, šum-ma aš-ša-at a-wi-lim mu-za u-ub-bi-ir-ši-ma, *if a man accuse his wife*. Scheil translates by a *lié* (*par un charme*); Winckler, *beziichtigen*; Peiser, *verfluchen*; Müller, *anklagen*. Nêrtum has the meanings, *destruction*, *death*, *murder*, *capital*

¹ Cf. also Zimmern, *ZDMG*, LVIII, 955

crime, cf. Delitzsch, *HWB*, 439. Scheil translates by *anathème*; Müller, *Tötung (durch Zauberei)* connecting it with the Arabic *naḥara* (cf. Peiser, *OLZ*, VII, 171), cf. also Schorr, *WZKM*, XVIII, 212; Peiser, *Zauberprobe*; Winckler, *Bezeichnung*, reading *bêrtam* from *abâru* instead of *nêrtam*; Johns, *death spell* (?); Pinches, *spell*; Boscawen, *ban*. Fossey's translation in *JA*, 1904, 275, agrees with *HCH*: *Si un homme, après avoir accusé un homme et l'avoir chargé d'un meurtre, ne le convainc pas, l'accusateur sera tué*. Cf. also König in *TLB*, XXV, No. 36, 425, 426, in his review of *HCH*, and especially Delitzsch, *DLZ*, XXV, 3029, 3030: *Wenn jemand jemanden in Verdacht bringt (bezw. anschwärzt) und ihn eines Mordes bezichtigt und es nicht beweist, so soll der, der ihn in Verdacht gebracht hat, getötet werden*. Iddak is IV, 2, *he shall be put to death*, corresponding to 𒌷𒍪𒌷.

§ 2, 5, 33-56. *Ki-iš-bi* (34, 51) and *ki-iš-bu* (38) are plurals. I would, nevertheless, retain the translation *sorcery* rather than *sorceries*. In l. 54 we have the I, 1 pret. of *šalû* and in l. 41 the I, 1. pres. In l. 49, Winckler explains the form *ištalmam* as a I, 2 = *ištalwâ* from the same root. Other commentators regard it as a I, 2 from *šalâmu*, *to be safe, unharmed*. The meaning of the section is about the same in either case. I would retain the translation of *HCH*.

§§ 3, 4, 5, 57-6, 5. These sections belong together and deal with the corrupt witness (1) in suit involving life, § 3, and (2) in suit involving property, § 4; cf. Lyon's admirable analysis of the Code, *JAOS*, XXV, 248 sqq. In *HCH*, I have translated § 3, *If a man come forth, take a stand, for testimony of lies or threats, i. e. bear false or threatening witness*,⁸ and § 4, *If a man bear testimony of grain or money, i. e. bear witness for grain or money as a bribe*. It is, perhaps, better to translate the *šibût šarrâtîm* and *šibût še'im u kaspîm*, *witness concerning* rather than *of*: § 3, "If a man, in a case (pending judgment) bear witness concerning crime, and do not establish the testimony that he has given, if that case be a case involving life, that man shall be put to death; § 4, If he bear witness concerning grain or money, he shall himself bear the penalty imposed in that case." So Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 14, and earlier, Joh. Jeremias, *MH*, 48, and Kohler in Peiser's *HG*. *Šarâru* in the Code seems to have

⁸ I understand the translations of Müller, Winckler, and Schorr (*WZKM*) in this way.

the meaning *to attempt fraud*, **8**, 1, 22; hence *ṣarrâtîm*, *fraud*, *crime* and *ṣarrûtum*, *outlaws*, *criminals*, **18**, 27, 30.

§ 5, **6**, 6–30, the corrupt judge (Lyon). Winckler translates the I, 2 of *enû ist ungültig*, *erweist sich als unrecht geleitet*, *sich als fehlerhaft erweist*. I prefer to regard both I, 1 and I, 2 as transitive and interchangeable as is frequently the case, and to retain the translation in *HCH*. This verb means *to change*, *to alter*, *to cancel*; cf. in-ni, **15**, 6; e-ne-im, **6**, 16; i-te-ni, **6**, 13. So also Scheil, Johns, Peiser, Müller, Pinches, Ungnad (*ZA*, XVIII, 30). A-du XII-šu = *twelffold*, so also Johns, Pinches, Boscawen; cf. Scheil, *douze fois*; Müller, Winckler, Schorr (*WZKM*, XXV, 213), *Zwölffach*; Peiser translates *adu*, *sammt*, i. e. “dieser Richter . . . soll das Klageobject, welches in jenem Prozess vorliegt, sammt dem Zwölffachen zahlen.” In l. 30, *uš-ta-ab* is a scribal error for *uš-ša-ab*; so all the commentators with the exception of Peiser, who says: “*uštāb*, gesichert durch *uštamma*, Col. VIII^a 80, ist wohl durch Umstellung aus einer vorauszusetzenden Form *utšab* für *itušab* entstanden,”—a view which cannot be entertained.

6, 32, *ilim*, *god=temple, church*; *êkallim*, 33, *palace=government, state*. We may then translate: If a man steal the property of Church or State, that man shall be put to death.

§ 8, **6**, 58, Zimmern remarks (*ZDMG*, LVIII, 956): “Z. 58 handelt es sich wahrscheinlich nicht um den Diebstahl eines ‘Schweines’ (ŠAH) sondern eines (Esels)füllens (ŠUL).” MAŠ.EN.KAK, **8**, 65, to be read *muškēnum* with Zimmern, according to *CT*, XII, 16, 42; cf. J. Jeremias, *MH*, 8, 2). For the state of society in the Code, cf. *HCH*, XII. Scheil translates *un noble* and comments: “Est toujours employé par opposition à *awilum*, le citoyen libre, et à *ardu* [wardum], l’esclave; ne peut donc désigner que des princes ou patriciens.” Müller, *GH*, 81, 1), remarks: “Ich vermute, dass das Wort ‘Armenstift’ bedeutet. Es scheint eine öffentliche Versorgungsanstalt gewesen zu sein, die ihre Güter, Pfründen und Sklaven hatte und unter besonderer Verwaltung stand. Das Stift, als solches, hatte eine privilegierte Stellung, die Stiftler⁹ aber, die auch kurzweg *muškēnu* hießen, wurden zwischen Freigeborenen und Sklaven

⁹ Cf., however, J. Jeremias in a review of Müller's *Hammurabi*, *WZKM*, XVIII, 109: “Die Übersetzung von MAŠ.EN.KAK (*muškēnu*) mit, ‘Armenstiftler’ ist kaum richtig; wahrscheinlicher bezeichnet *muškēnu* den Heimatlosen, den Nichtstaatsangehörigen, der durch den königlichen Dienst gewisse Vorrechte zuerteilt bekam.”

klassifiziert." Peiser, *HG*, 11, 2), translates *Ministeriale*, and comments: "Letzterer (MAŠ.ÍN.KAK) ist ein Beamter, der keine Familie hinter sich hat, im Gegensatz zum amīlu, dem Mitglied einer Familie." Winckler translates *Freigelassene* with the note: "Das bedeutet den Stand, der im Gegensatz zu den Vollfreien (amēlu) sich als 'Freigelassene' oder 'Ministerialen' bezeichnen lässt. Er besteht im wesentlichen wohl aus der (älteren) unterworfenen Bevölkerung und aus freigelassenen Sklaven." Littmann in *ZA*, XVII, 262-65, suggests the meaning *leprous* for muškēnum = منسكين = منسكین, but this meaning does not suit the Code. Prince, *AJTL*, VIII, 608, remarks: "Harper has shown that Hammurabi's muškēnu was a class of poor freeman." Lyon, *JAOS*, XXV, 254, renders *freedman*. Johns has changed from *poor man* to *plebeian*, and the latter is a very good term. Pinches translates *poor man*, and Boscawen, *common man*. J. Jeremias suggests *Ausländer*, *OLZ*, VII, 141. McCurdy, *BW*, XXV, 469, in a review of *HCH* rejects *Ministeriale* (attachés of the court). François Martin, *Mélanges Assyriologiques*, VIII, 3, 4, discusses this term at great length, quoting the letter (Harper 340) where we read mārê Bābili muš-ki-e-nu-te and giving "un homme à demi libre" as the original signification (*i. e.*, EN.KAK = bēl bānû and MAŠ in the sense of "moitié"). He adds: "Je crois que le muškīnu est le membre d'une caste à peu près à égale distance de celle des hommes libres ou citoyens et de celle des esclaves, et qui répond probablement à 'l'homme lige' de la féodalité, ou plutôt au 'serf.' Il a plus d'obligations et moins de droits que l'homme libre, mais plus de liberté que l'esclave." (V.) I know of no better term than *poor freeman*. Muškēnum is a Shaphel formation from kānu (כנען).

§ 9, 7, 1, ša mi-im-mu-šu ḫal-ku, literally = *something of whose has been lost*, ḫalku being a permansive. It is often impossible to bring out such a distinction in the English idiom, unless one is content with a word for word translation which is frequently unintelligible. Again the English idiom often calls for a singular where we have a plural in the Babylonian (VI), *cf.* above, § 2, kišbu and kišbi, where it is better to translate *sorcery* rather than *sorceries*.—On the enclitic mi in direct discourse, ll. 9, 10, 15, *cf.* Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 56. The plural of nouns in -u, Nominative, and in -i, Genitive-Accusative, was first

recognized *in print* by Zimmern in Hunger's *Becherwahrsagung bei den Babyloniern*, cf. *ZDMG*, LVIII, 954, 1), where Zimmern grants that Ungnad in *ZA*, XVIII, 1 *sqq.*, reached the same conclusions independently. Ungnad would identify the Plural endings *-u* and *-i* with the Arabic *-ūna* and *-īna*, regarding the *na* of the Arabic as having nothing to do with the idea of plurality, but rather as a demonstrative element. In 7, 14, 25, and 33, we have two plural nouns, *ši-bi mu-di*, the second being in apposition with the first, *witnesses who know* = witnesses to identify. In 7, 46, Ungnad reads *kasap iš-ḫu-lu*, *ZA*, XVIII, 59, 60.

§ 11, 8, 1, for *ša-ar*, permansive, cf. above under §§ 3, 4. Scheil translates: *il est de mauvaise foi*; Müller, *er ist ein Böswilliger*, so also Winckler; Peiser, *er ist ein Lügner*; Ungnad, *er gilt als Verbrecher*. 8, 2, all the commentators agree on the meaning of this difficult passage. Winckler, however, would read *id-di* instead of *id-ki* on account of 5, 29, 33 *sqq.* *Id-ki* seems to me preferable and necessary.

§ 13, 8, 15, *If the witnesses of that man be not at hand*, *ḫir-bu* being a permansive,¹⁰ the judges, *da-a-a-nu* (plur.)¹¹ shall declare a postponement (*adanam* = *time-limit*, hence *postponement*).

§ 14, 8, 27, *ṣiḥram*: Scheil *en bas âge*; Müller, *minderjährig*; Peiser, *kleinen*; Winckler, *unerwachsenen*; *HCH*, *who is a minor*.

§ 15, 8, 35, *uš-te-zi*: Scheil, *a fait sortir*; Müller, *hinausführt*; Peiser, *führt*; Winckler, *hinausbringt*; *HCH*, *aid to escape*,¹² literally, cause to go forth.

§ 18, 8, 64, 65, *wa-ar-ka-zu ip-pa-ar-ra-aš* (IV, 1), lit. his past shall be examined into, *i. e.*, *they shall inquire into his antecedents*; cf. § 142, 23, 63–65: If a woman hate her husband, and say: "Thou shalt not have me," *warkâza ina babtîša ipparraš*, her past shall be examined for her loss, defect, *i. e.*, *they shall inquire into her antecedents for her defects*. Scheil translates: *son arrière-pensée sera pénétrée*; Johns, *one shall inquire into his past*; Müller paraphrases: *Nachdem er untersucht und ausgeforscht wird*; Peiser, *das, was nachher mit ihm zu geschehen hat, wird entschieden*; Winckler, *seine Angelegen-*

¹⁰ Cf. also Ungnad, *ZA*, XVII, 367.

¹¹ Cf. now Schorr, in his rather polemical critique of Peiser's translation of the Code, *WZKM*, LVIII, 214, 215.

¹² Cf. now Lyon's analysis, *JAOS*, XXV, 255, § 15, "Inducing a slave to run away."

heit (wie es sich mit ihm verhält) *soll geprüft werden*—a good translation. § 18 may be translated: If that slave will not name his owner, he shall bring him to the palace (government house, record office) and they shall inquire into his past (antecedents, record) and then they shall return him to his owner.

§ 20, 9, 11, 12, ni-iš i-lim i-za-kar (17, 29, 37, 41), *that man shall so declare in the name of god*. Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 21, would regard the Accusative niš ilim as the object of izakar = “das Wesen eines Gottes anrufen, nennen.”

§ 21, 9, 21, i-ḫa-al-la-lu-šū, Scheil translates *enterrera*; Müller, *verscharren*; Peiser, *eingraben*; Winckler, *einscharren*; Johns, *bury*(?). The exact meaning of the word here and in 35, 51 is doubtful. I still prefer some such meaning as *to throw into, thrust into, cast into*; cf. also the IV, 2 form it-ta-aḫ-la-lu, 15, 70, where one may translate *have thrust themselves through, have crowded their way through*.

§ 22, 9, 23, ḫu-ub-tam iḫ-bu-ut: Scheil translates *le brigandage a exercé*; Johns, *has carried on brigandage*; Müller, *er Raub begangen hat*; Peiser, *Raub ausführt*; Winckler, *Wenn jemand Raub begeht*; HCH, *to practice brigandage, to commit highway robbery*, so Lyon also, *JAOS*, XXV, 255.

§ 23, 9, 36, ubār, II, 1, from bāru, *to declare, to itemize = to make an itemized statement of his loss*; cf. now Schorr, *WZKM*, XVIII, 226, “Das Wort wird wohl mit dem hebr. באר, Deut. 1, 5 u. a.; ‘deutlich, klar machen’ identisch sein, das auch nur im Piel vorkommt.”

§ 25, 9, 57, nu-ma-at: Schorr, *WZKM*, XVIII, 215, proposes to derive this word from אָמַם, with the prefix *m* and the fem. ending, nūmtu = ma-ûm-tu = na-ûm-tu = nu-ûm-tu, constr. nūmat, and compares it with the Hebrew מְאַמֵּתָהּ. Cf. Delitzsch’s remarks in *DLZ*, XXV, 3030, where he translates, *Besitzstück*. In 9, 62, read il-te-ki for il-te-di, so Scheil and all the commentators. Cf., however, Peiser’s note, *HG*, 16, 1).

§ 26, 9, 66, BARA(MIR).UŠ = rid šābê: Delitzsch, *BA*, IV, 85, *einer der Leute (Unterthanen) treibt, Arbeiteraufseher*; Johns, *AJSL*, XIX, 171, *ganger* (on his civil side), or *field-cornet* (on his military side); Scheil, *officier*; Müller, *Feldwebel*; Peiser, *Soldat*(?); Winckler, *Krieger*; Daiches, *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden*, 48, *Truppenführer*, cf. also *ZA*, XVIII, 202 sqq.; and Meissner, *ZA*, XVIII, 393, 394, where he translates

Bu. 91-5-9, 545 (*BT*, VIII, 32); *HCH*, *officer*—an indefinite term. **9**, 67, ŠU.ḤA = ba'irum, *cf.* Delitzsch, *BA*, IV, 85, and *HWB*; Scheil, *sbire*; Müller, *Jäger* (*Häscher*); Peiser, *Fischer*; Winckler, *Schleuderer*; Johns, *constable* (*AJSL*, XIX, 171, 172); so also *HCH*. **10**, 3, AWEL.KU.MAL = agrum or agarrum, so also Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 22. With Meissner, *BA*, II, 579, Delitzsch, *BA*, IV, 85, and Johns, I have taken ittarad as transitive and puḥ-šu as its object, and *dispatch him in his stead*. Scheil, Peiser, Müller, and Winckler translate puḥšu as subject. **10**, 10, munaggir is IV, 1 from agāru; Winckler regards it as a form from nagāru, and translates *Ankläger*(?).

§ 27, **10**, 15, ina dan-na-at šar-ri-im tu-ur-ru, Scheil translates: *Si . . . dans les forteresses du roi est retourné*; Johns, *who is diverted to the fortresses of the king*; Peiser, *der in königlichen Aufgebot ist, fortgeführt ist*; Müller, *der in einer Festung des Königs zurückgehalten wird*; Winckler, *der im Unglück des Königs (Niederlage) gefangen worden ist*. Winckler's translation has much in its favor.

§ 30, **10**, 54, 55, i-na pa-ni il-ki-im id-di-ma, Johns translates: *has left alone from the beginning of his business*; Müller, *nachdem er die Verwaltung (Bewirtschaftung) eingestellt hat*; Peiser, *wegen der Lasten von sich gethan hat*; Winckler, *wegen der Lehnlast aufgibt*; *HCH*, *from the beginning of* (or, account of) (his) *business neglect his field*; *cf.* Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 28, "er hat in der Front (d. i. vor; hebr. לִפְנֵי) seiner Lehnspflicht geworfen (*scil.* aḥšu, 'seine Seite')"*=er hat sie vernachlässigt*.

§ 32, **11**, 21, ša pa-da-ri-im = *wherewith to ransom*, *i. e.*, sufficient ransom. **11**, 34, we have here the only example of an overhanging -i, and I am inclined to accept Ungnad's explanation that it is a scribal error, ri for ar, under the influence of the form pa-da-ri-šu in ll. 26 and 33; *cf.* Ungnad, *ZA*, XVII, 364.

§ 33, **11**, 39, is PA.PA (*vid.* also 48, 51, 62) to be read pa-ḥat? or with Ungnad PA.ḤAT = paḥātum, *cf.* *ZA*, XVIII, 16? **11**, 40, NU.TUR (also 49, 52, 63) = labuttû, *cf.* *HWB*, 373, and Schorr, *WZKM*, XVIII, 217, where he translates, *Vorsteher, Präfekt*. **11**, 41, šāb ni-is-ḥa-tim ir-ta-ši is one of the most difficult expressions in the Code and the critics of the editions of the Code have given it, along with many other

difficult passages, little attention. Scheil translates: *des dimeurs a possédé*; Johns, *has taken to himself the men of levy*; Müller, *eine Ausslossung aus dem Heere vollzieht*; Peiser, *bei Soldaten Befreiung zulässt*; Winckler, *einem Krieger Dienstentziehung zulässt*; cf. Johns, *AJS*L, XIX, 172.

§ 34, 11, 58, i-na di-nim a-na dan-nim iš-ta-ra-aḫ, Scheil translates: *en justice devant un puissant a traduit*, with the remark that dannim may be for daianim; Johns, *has stolen in a judgment by high-handedness*; Müller, *in einem Prozesse [als Bestechung(?)] einem Mächtigen schenkt*; Peiser, *durch einen Prozess einem Mächtigen ausliefert*; Winckler, *im Prozesse einem Mächtigen verrät(?)*; HCH, *present (betray) an officer in a judgment (suit) to a man of influence*. John's translation is quite different from all the others, since he takes ištarak from šarāḫu, *to steal*, instead of from šarāḫu, *to present*. The I, 2 form of šarāḫu, *to steal*, is found in 8, 28, 38, 18 = ištariḫ. Cf. also Winckler's remark,¹³ *GH*, 18.

§ 35, 12, 3, 4, ina kaspi-šu i-te-el-li = *he shall forfeit his money*.

§ 36, 12, 7, na-ši bi-il-tim: in the historical texts it always has the meaning *tributary*, so also Johns in the Code; Müller and Winckler translate *zinspflichtig*; Scheil, *collecteur d'impôts*; HCH, *tax-gatherer*. It could very well have the meaning of one who is in arrear with his taxes. Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 53, would regard i- in 12, 9, as a scribal error for in.

§ 39, 12, 32, ša i-ša-am-mu-ma i-ra-aš-šu-u = which he has purchased and (hence) possesses; cf. now Schorr, *WZKM*, XVIII, 217. In l. 37, cf. e-ḫi-il-ti with i-il-ti, 12, 29.

§ 40. This is one of the most unsatisfactory sections in the Code, and most of the translations are radically different. Scheil translates: *Pour (la garantie) d'un négociant ou une obligation étrangère*, etc.; Johns, *a votary, merchant, or foreign sojourner*; Müller, *Eine Frau(?)*, *ein Kaufherr und ein anderer Lehensman*; Peiser, *Wenn ein Geldman oder ein fremder Losteilhaber*; Winckler, *Aber an einen Geschäftsmann oder einen andern Lehensträger*; HCH, *A woman, merchant or other property-holder*. 12, 39, ŠAL + DIŠ: I have read provisionally ašša-tum, cf. Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 15, 16, and Schorr, *WZKM*, XVIII, 217, who are unable to offer any solution; cf. also Meissner,

¹³ "Ist istarak von šarāḫu 'stehlen' abzuleiten, etwa im Sinne von 'in die Hände spielt, ihn durch Unrecht preisgibt'?"

ZDMG, LVIII, 249, and Daiches, *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden*, 22, 1). **12**, 40, *ilkum aḥûm* = other business and then other person in business, other property-holder; *aššatum*, *tamkarum* and *ilkum aḥûm* are coördinate subjects of *inad-din*, cf. also Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 16. Peiser would read *ilḫu* (so also Müller) and regard it a participle from *לָקַח*. Cf. J. Jeremias *MH*, 10, 2), where he makes *ilqu* = *išqu*, *der Mächtige*. For *ḲU* = *kum*, cf. also Ungnad, *ZA*, XVII, 354. Lyon, *JAOS*, XXV, 256, gives as the subject of this section: "Classes of holders who may sell."

§ 41. There are two translations of this section, based upon different derivations of *ubih* and *niplâtîm*: Scheil translates, *Si a enclos et les piquets a fourni, mais les piquets qui lui ont été fournis il compensera*; Müller, *Wenn umzäunt [und] auch (dazu) die Latten liefert auch nimmt er die Latten, die ihm geliefert wurden, in Besitz*, cf. also Winckler, who hesitatingly translates in the same way. *HCH*, following Johns and Delitzsch, translates, *If a man have bargained for and given sureties and he shall take to himself the sureties which were given to him*. So also Peiser, and cf. Schorr, *WZKM*, XVIII, 218; on the other hand, Müller, *GH*, 95, 3), rejects this reading. *U-bi-ih* is II, 1 from *pāḥu* (𐎱𐎲), *to exchange, to barter for*, and *ni-ip-la-tim* is plural of *nipiltum* from *apālu*. Scheil, Winckler and Müller would derive *ubih* from a stem *abāḥu*, *umzäunen* and would make *niplu* synonymous with *ziḫpu*, following Meissner.

§ 44, **13**, 12, *ma-a-a-ri* is translated by Peiser, *das von selbst Erwachsene*(?), cf. *HG*, 21, 1). Cf. also Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 22, who regards this passage as very uncertain. Ll. 32, 33, cf. Ungnad's provisional reading, *ZA*, XVIII, 22, 3).

§ 45, § 46, cf. Müller, *GH*, 96, 2) with whose translation and interpretation *HCH* agrees. See also Lyon's comments and translations, *JAOS*, XXV, 275, 276, where he translates *intaḥar*, *to be in agreement with, to have an agreement concerning*. In **13**, 43, 44 and **14**, 5, 6, translate with Peiser, *die Hochflut fort-nimmt*; so also Zimmern, *ZDMG*, LVIII, 956. **13**, 49, 50, on *mi-iš-la-ni* and *ša-lu-uš*, cf. Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 2, 2). **13**, 56, *a-na ap-ši-te-im*, cf. Peiser, *HG*, 22, 2), *abšitu* = *abšittu* from *abšênu*, who translates *gemäss dem Wachstum*(?); Scheil, *proportionnellement*(?); Müller, *nach Anteil* (*Abmach-*

ung(?)); so also Winckler and *HCH*. Lyon, *JAOS*, XXV, 276, follows Peiser, or Schorr. Schorr, *WZKM*, XVIII, 218, would regard it as plural of *epištu* (notwithstanding the *a*) in the sense, *Ertrag* (des Feldes) and would compare the Hebrew מִשְׁכָּן. Ungnad, in *ZA*, XVIII, 5, 2), declares it "etymologisch unklar."

§ 47 is one of the most difficult in the Code. I see no reason to depart from the translation in *HCH*, except to change "would" to "must" and "has been" to "will be" in 13, 66, 67. 13, 61, *ma-na-ḥa-ti-šu il-lu-u* has been interpreted in many ways. Scheil translates *à sa ferme il n'est pas allé*; Johns, *he did not set up his dwelling*; Müller, *weil sein Wohnhaus noch nicht aufgeführt war*; Peiser, *weil er sein Auskommen(?) nicht erreicht hat*; Winckler, *weil er seinen Unterhalt nicht gewonnen(?) hat*; *HCH*, *because he has not gained a maintenance*. *Manāhtu* is from *nāḥu*, cf. *HWB*, 453*b* and not from *anāḥu*, cf. Schorr, *WZKM*, XVIII, 220. Again I would regard *il-lu-u* as a scribal error for the frequently occurring *il-ku-u*; cf. on the other hand, Scheil, Müller, Peiser, Winckler, Ungnad (*ZA*, XVIII, 9, 2), Schorr (*WZKM*, XVIII, 220). Again I cannot accept Schorr's treatment of *iḫ-ta-bi* = *iḫ-ta-pi*, from a stem, *ḤḤḤ*, *sich zurückhalten, sich weigern*. It is to be taken as I, 2 from *ḫibû*. The word *u-up-pa-as* is difficult. Provisionally I would make it a form of *uppaš*, *to take possession of, to interfere*. Cf., however, Peiser's *nachgeben(?)* and Schorr, *WZKM*, XVIII, 219; cf. also Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 51, who leaves this passage in doubt. I have accepted Müller's division of the sentence at l. 66 and with him have taken *ir-ri-su-ma* as a verb (so now Schorr). Scheil, Johns, Peiser, Winckler, and Ungnad (*ZA*, XVIII, 51), regard *irrisu* as a noun, and make it the object of the preceding verb. Cf. Peiser, *OLZ*, VII, 162, *sqq.* One may translate: If the tenant order the cultivation of the field, i. e., give the cultivation of the field into the charge of another—because in the first year he has not gained a maintenance—the owner of the field shall not interfere. He (the tenant) must cultivate it, and his (the owner's) field will be cultivated, and at the time of harvest he shall take grain according to his contracts. Lyon is in doubt about the meaning of this section; cf. his analysis of the Code, *JAOS*, XXV, 256, where he gives "subletting(?)" as the subject of this section.

§ 48, **14**, 5, 6, *cf.* above, **13**, 43, 44. Peiser incorrectly makes še'am u-ul u-ta-ar dependent upon šumma, which is impossible grammatically and logically; *cf.* Schorr, *WZKM*, XVIII, 221. **14**, 14, uraddab is a II, 1 from raṭābu, *to moisten, erase, cancel*.

§ 49, the commentators are almost in agreement in their translations of this section. **14**, 24–27, *cf.* for the use of the imperatives as the direct object of iḳbišum, Ungnad, *ZA*, XVII, 365.

§ 53, **15**, 14, *cf.* Ungnad, *ZA*, XVII, 361, for the restoration of this line. Line 15, literally, and let the water overflow the farm-land, a double accusative.

§ 55, **15**, 35, 36, *cf.* above **15**, 15, and **15**, 42 below.

§ 58, *cf.* Delitzsch's translation, *BA*, IV, 82, (so also Scheil and Johns): *and the whole flock has passed through the gate*. Ḳa-an-nu ga-mar-tim is the difficult phrase. The former word is common in the Letter Literature and has some such meaning as *vicinity, environs*. Peiser, *HG*, 25, translates *Schlupfloch* (?). The translations of Müller, *HCH*, and Winckler agree in the main. The reviewers offer no help.

§ 64, **16**, 61, ana rukūbim, *cf.* J. Jeremias, *MH*, 20 = *pfropfen*; so also Müller; Scheil, *à exploiter*; Peiser, *zur Pflege*(?); Winckler, *zur Bearbeitung*; *HCH*, *to manage*; Johns, *to farm*. *Cf.* Schorr, *WZKM*, XVIII, 222, 223 on Peiser's note on šittin, *HG*, 27, 4). **16**, 66, Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 2, 2) would regard šī-it-ti-in as an Accus. of the Dual.

§ 65, **16**, 73, bi-il-tam um-ta-di, Müller translates *der Ertrag zurückgeht*; better, *he diminish the produce*.

§ 100, **17**, 1, ši-ba-a-at, literally *interests*. **17**, 4, 5 have been mistranslated by all the commentators. Scheil, *le jour où ils ferout les comptes*; Müller, *seinerzeit, so bald sie abrechnen*; Peiser, *am Tag, wo sie berechnen*; Winckler, *am Tage, wo sie abrechnen*. Translate: They shall reckon its days and he shall make returns to his merchant (*HCH*). *cf.* now Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 25.

§ 101, **17**, 12, uš-ta-ša-na = to double, *cf.* J. Jeremias, *MH*, 5, Müller, Peiser, and Winckler. Scheil, *il égalera en quantité*.

§ 102, **17**, 17, a-na ta-ad-mi-iḳ-tim, Scheil, *à titre gracieux*; Johns, *as a favor* (so also *HCH*), but *cf.* *BALCL*, where he translates *as a speculation*; Müller, *aus Gefälligkeit (ohne Zinsen)*; Peiser, *zur freien Verfügung*; Winckler, *zu Unternehmungen*.

§ 104, *cf.* Delitzsch, *BA*, IV, 83.

§ 105, **17**, 52, Winckler transliterates *kaspu*; Müller and *HCH*, *kaspi* (gen. constr.); better *kasap*, *cf.* Ungnad.

§ 106, **17**, 61-63, are not dependent upon *šumma* as Peiser reads; *cf.* also Schorr, *WZKM*, XVIII, 224. **17**, 66, Peiser translates *samt dem Dreifachen* instead of *three-fold*.

§ 107, **18**, 9, 10, translate, "and the merchant, because he has had a dispute with his agent." *Cf.* Schorr, *WZKM*, XVIII, 225, on Peiser's translation.

§ 108, **18**, 15, Winckler transliterates ŠAL.GEŠ.TIN.NA = *amelit karani*. **18**, 20, KI.LAM = *maḥûri* (Müller) and *maḥir* (Winckler).

§ 109, **18**, 31, transliterate with *HCH*, *la iṣ-ša-ab-tam-ma* with ŠAL.GEŠ.TIN.NA as the subject. So also Peiser and Winckler. Müller's transliteration (*iṣ-ša-ab-tu-ma*, following Scheil), and translation are incorrect.

§ 110, **18**, 37. In *HCH*, List of Signs, No. 101, I listed this line as MAL.GE.A. *Cf.* under No. 121, the second form of E, and a passage, **5**, 45, where it occurs = *bî-zu*. *Cf.* also **31**, 45, where the same form of E occurs as in **5**, 45. Hence we are to read in **31**, 45, E.GE.A. Ungnad, *ZA*, XVII, 368, reads MAL.GE.A in **18**, 37 and **31**, 45. I am now inclined to regard the MAL of **18**, 37 as a scribal error for E = E.GE.A. = *kallâtum*. Müller and Winckler translate *Frauenhaus*; Peiser, *Harem*(?).

§ 111, **18**, 47, *a-nadi-ib-tim*, Scheil translates *contre la soif* and Johns for *thirst*, but *cf.* *BALCL* where he translates *in the time of thirst*; Müller, *auf Borg*; Peiser, *für die Not*(?); Winckler, *für Notfall*(?); *HCH*, *on credit*. Peiser's derivation from *adâbu* cannot be accepted. *Cf.* Schorr, *WZKM*, XVIII, 225, who would read *ḫi-ip-tim* from קִי־פ and translate *Borg*. For the present I would connect the word with טִי־ב and translate it as in *HCH*.

§ 112, **18**, 62, read *id-[di]-in*, *cf.* Ungnad, *ZA*, XVII, 373, 1) and Winckler *GH*, 32.

§ 113, **19**, 16, *u-ka-an-nu-šu* is not dependent upon *šumma* as Peiser translates.

§ 118, **19**, 68-73: *cf.* Schorr's remarks, *WZKM*, XVIII, 225, on Peiser's translation. *Cf.* Ungnad, *ZA*, XVII, 377, for the Present in l. 72.

§ 120, **20**, 8, *ina ga-ri-tim*, Scheil, *dans le compartiment*,

comparing קררה; Johns, *granary*; Müller, *auf den Boden*(?); Peiser, *Kriegsfall*; Winckler, *Getreidehaufen*(?). Cf. *HCH*, 161: garitum = garittum = garintum. 20, 20, read il-ku-u instead of il-lu-u, but cf. Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 9, 2), where he reads il-lu-u and claims that il-ku-u does not suit the context.

§ 121, 20, 29, Müller reads the ideogram ID as idu, and cf. Ungnad, *ZA*.

§ 123, 20, 48, a-šar id-di-nu = where he has given, i. e., at the place of deposit.

§ 126, 21, 11, read mi-im-[mu]-šu instead of mi-im-[me¹⁴]-šu; so Schorr, *WZKM*, XVIII, 225. 21, 19 ubâr is II, 1 from bâru באר. 21, 14, utebbir is II, 2 from ebêru, to exaggerate. Can it be a II, 2 of abâru after the analogy of ebêru? Cf. for this section, Jeremias, *MH*, 5.

§ 127, 21, 26, Ungnad reads NIN.AN = entum, *ZA*, XVIII, 33. 21, 32, cf. Winckler's remarks on nadû, which I do not think are to the point; cf. Schorr, *WZKM*, XVIII, 226. 21, 41, aš-ša-at, cf. for the Permansive use of the noun, Ungnad, *ZA*, XVII, 370.

§ 129, 21, 51-53, cf. *HCH*; Ungnad, *ZA*, XVII, 376; and Schorr, *WZKM*, XVIII, 226-227.

§ 130, 21, 60, cf. Müller's identification of kabâlu with Hebrew כבש, "vergewaltigen," and Peiser's note thereon in *OLZ*, VII, 171. 21, 61, zûnum, cf. Prince, *AJT*, XVIII, 605, 8): "The word zûnu is euphemistically translated 'bosom' by *HCH*. It was probably a legal term for *pudendum feminae*."

§§ 133, 133A, 22, 7-26. The treatment of this section in *HCH* is quite different from that of any commentator, and hence I give it in full: 7 šum-ma a-wi-lum 8 iš-ša-li-il-ma 9 i-na bîti-šu 10 ša a-ka-lim 11 i-ba-aš-ši 12 [aš-ša]-zu 13 i-na bi]-za^b [wa-az-za-a]t 14 [pa-gar-š]a 15 [i-na-ša-a]r 16 [a-na bîtim [ša-ni-]im 17 [u-ul i-ir]-ru-ub (§ 133A) 18 š[um-ma]¹⁵ zinništum ši-i 19 [pa-gar-ša 20 la iṣ-ṣur-ma 21 a-na bîtim ša-ni-im 22 i-te-ru-ub 23 zinništam šu-a-ti 24 u-ka-an-nu-ši-ma 25 a-na me-e 26 i-na-ad-du-u-ši. Translate: If a man be captured, and there be maintenance in his house and his wife go out of her house, she shall protect her body and she shall not enter

¹⁴ Cf., however, Zimmern in Jeremias' *MH*, 5.

¹⁵ The remaining wedges and the context call for the restoration of šumma rather than aššum; cf. Ungnad, *ZA*, XVII, 361. With this line begins a new section, § 133 A.

into another house. § 133A, *If that woman do not protect her body and enter into another house*, they shall call that woman to account and they shall throw her into the water. Cf. Scheil, Müller, Peiser, and Winckler, who have not attempted a complete restoration, and who have been led astray by the restoration of aššum instead of šumma in **22**, 18. The reviewers have not attempted any solution of this broken and difficult passage. § 134 follows logically on §§ 133 and 133 A.

§ 135, **22**, 42 a-na pa-ni-šu: Scheil, *devant lui*; Johns, *before her*; Müller, *zu seiner Lebenszeit*; Peiser, *deshalb(?)*; Winckler, *um deswillen(?)*; HCH, *before him = openly*. Cf. Schorr, WZKM, XVIII, 227, on Peiser's translation of warki in **22**, 54. **22**, 52, for ha-wi-ri-ša, cf. Ungnad, ZA, XVII, 358.

§ 137, **22**, 74, šugetim; cf. Müller's identification of this word with Hebrew שָׁגַת, and Peiser's note thereon in OLZ, VII, 171. **22**, 82, *they (one) shall return to her*.

§ 141, **23**, 35, wašbat; the relative *u* is not appended to the 3 f. sg. of the Permansive. Cf. Ungnad, ZA, XVII, 361. **23**, 45 and 53; e-ši-ib-ša is to be taken with Schorr (WZKM, XVIII, 227) and Zimmern (ZDMG, LVIII, 955) as an infin. with the 3 f. suffix. **23**, 33–42, Ungnad has failed to grasp the meaning of this section, cf. ZA, XVII, 374, 375, and XVIII, 25. **23**, 48, I have accepted Müller's reading connecting ha-ra-an-ša with what follows. Scheil, *il la laissera (aller) son chemin*; Johns, *she shall go her way*; Winckler, *so soll er sie ihres Weges entlassen*; Peiser, *als ihren Anteil*;¹⁶ Ungnad, *er soll sie ihren Weg (gehen) lassen*.

§ 142, **23**, 60, Peiser's translation, *Wenn wider eine Frau ihr Mann sündigt*, cannot be accepted, zinništum being the subject. Cf. HCH, *If a woman hate her husband*. Again in **23**, 61, taḥḥazanni is 2 f. = *thou shalt not have me*; cf. Schorr, WZKM, XVIII, 228, on Peiser's translation of these lines. **23**, 70, on ŠAG = za, cf. also Ungnad, ZA, XVII, 368, 2). **23**, 71, cf. also Ungnad, ZA, XVIII, 39.

§ 146, **24**, 56, abbuttam = *bondage* rather than *Fesseln* (Peiser).

§ 148, **24**, 68 and 75, read la-'a-bu-um, *fever*, instead of la-aḥ-bu-um as all the commentators transliterate, and cf. 𒌦𒍪𒍪. I cannot accept Müller's reading and derivation, GH, 265, where

¹⁶ "Ha-ra-an-ša; so, wenn nicht als 'wohin sie will' mit dem vorhergehenden zu verbinden."

he compares laḥbu with the Hebrew שִׁחַב, *Abzehrung*. Cf. Peiser's note in *OLZ*, VII, 171. **24**, 80, uš-ša-am-ma. Cf. Peiser's note, *HG*, 43, 2) "uš-ta-am-ma für uštabma," which is based on a wrong reading of the original text.

§ 150, **25**, 24, a-ḥi-im should be translated *brother* rather than *Fremder* with Peiser.

§ 151, **25**, 41, bēl + ḥubullišu is a plural of the compound bēl + ḥubullim, cf. Ungnad, *ZA*, XVII, 362; cf. also **25**, 50, bēl + ḥubulliša.

§ 152, **25**, 56–58, a debt comes upon them, i. e., *they contract a debt*, cf. *HCH*.

§ 155, **26**, 1, -ši is a scribal error for -šu.

§ 158, **26**, 27, ra-bi-ti-šu = chief wife. It may, however, be read [mu]-ra-bi-ti-šu, *vid.* §§ 192, 193, with Scheil, and cf. Winckler, *GH*, 45, 6). **26**, 28, walḏat is the only example in the Code of a permansive used as an active, cf. Ungnad, *ZA*, XVII, 369. **26**, 31, bit a-ba; Winckler following Zimmern suggests that this may be a dual form to be distinguished from bit a-bi and he would translate *Elternhaus*. Cf. Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 16, where he reads E. A. BA = bit abim in this and the numerous other passages where it is found.

§ 160, **26**, 54, a-na-ad-di-ik-kum: for the value kum, cf. Hunger, *Becherwahrnehmung*, 7, 2) following Jensen, *KB*, III, 1, 111–113; *HCH*, XIV; Ungnad, *ZA*, XVII, 354, 3), where he regards the *m* as "ein pausaler Zusatz;" also *ZA*, XVIII, 52, 53, where Ungnad discusses this *m* at some length.

§ 161, **26**, 75–77, *HCH* makes aššāzu the object and ibiršu the subject of iḥḥaz; so also Scheil, Johns, Peiser, Winckler. Müller takes the opposite view.

§ 164, **27**, 31, a-ta-ša is a scribal error for a-bi-ša.

§ 165, **27**, 35, ša i-in-šu maḥ-ru (perm.) = *favorite*; cf. also Ungnad, *ZA*, XVII, 367. **27**, 42, aḥ-hu is the plural of aḥu, cf. also Daiches, *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden*, 41, 1).

§ 168, **28**, 13, 15, da-a-a-ni and da-a-a-nu are plurals; cf., on the other hand, Peiser. **28**, 16, wa-ar-ka-zu = *past, record, antecedents*. I cannot accept Peiser's explanation "das, was nachher mit ihm zu geschehen hat."

§ 169, **28**, 30, 31, a-na iš-ti-iš-su pa-ni-šu ub-ba-lu, *they shall condone his first (offense)*, *HCH*. **28**, 33, a-di: Ungnad reads a-na, *ZA*, XVIII, 38, 2).

§ 171, **28**, 75, iš-ta-ak-ka-an, should be read iš-ša-ak-ka-an, *cf.* the text in *HCH*. The ta in the transliteration is an oversight, as text and translation will show. *Cf.* also Schorr's remarks on Peiser's translation of this passage, *WZKM*, XVIII, 230.

§ 172, with J. Jeremias, I have divided this section into two parts; *cf.* also Oettli¹⁷ and Winckler. Peiser rejects the division. *Cf.* Schorr, *WZKM*, XVIII, 230, on **29**, 20-23; literally: the judges shall inquire into her antecedents, place the blame on the children. *Cf.* also Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 22. The translation in *HCH* is to be preferred as English.

§ 177, **30**, 22, Peiser explains NU.MU.SU as equal to lâ-musu = la + mut + šu with išu understood.

§ 178, **30**, 62, zinništum zi-ik-ru-um, *cf.* Prince, *AJT*, VIII, 604, 6) where he translates *woman of a vow*; Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 17; *cf.* also Delitzsch, *DLZ*, XXV, 3031; "Mir scheint das Wort und seine Schreibung sehr willkommen zu sein für die richtige Lesung des für die 'Frauen' eines Königs sich findende Wort zikreti." On **30**, 74, 75, ma-la li-ib-bi-ša (la)u-ša-am-zi-ši = *to grant her full discretion*, *cf.* *HCH*. **30**, 84 and 91, *cf.* Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 22, 3) where he explains them as a Sumerian writing, SE.BA NI.BA u SIG.BA = še'sa šamnaša u šipâza.

§ 180, **31**, 45, Ungnad, *ZA*, XVII, 368, reads MAL.GE.A instead of E.GE.A = kallatum. **31**, 48, read iš-[ru-]uḫ-ši-im.

§ 181, **31**, 62, NU.PAR: Peiser translates *Jungfrau*; Winckler with Zimmern reads NU.MAŠ = lēḫat, *angenommenes Kind*; Scheil suggests la pititi; *cf.* Daiches, *Altbabylonische Urkunden*, 65, 1). Meissner, *OLZ*, VIII, 306, reads NU.BAR = zêr-mašitu.

§ 183, **32**, 2-14, *cf.* Schorr, *WZKM*, XVIII, 230, and Delitzsch, *DLZ*, XXV, 3031, on Peiser's translation of this section. *Cf.* also Winckler's interpretation of marti-šu šu-ge-tim *his daughter who is a concubine*, *i. e.*, a daughter who belongs to the same rank as her mother; so *HCH*, and with this explanation one may translate *to his daughter by a concubine*.

§ 185, **32**, 33, i-na me-e-šu = *in his name*. For Peiser's reading, see above, p. 4.

¹⁷ *Das Gesetz Hammurabis und die Thora Israels*, p. 41.

§ 186 is one of the most difficult and unsatisfactory of the Laws. Cf. Scheil, Johns: *and when he took him his father and mother rebelled*. Cf. now Lehmann, *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte*, IV, 32-41.¹⁸ "Wenn ein Mann ein unmündiges [Kind] in Adoption genommen hat [und] als (zur Zeit da) er es adoptierte, dessen Vater und Mutter vergewaltigt: dieses Adoptivkind kehrt in das Haus seines Vaters zurück." Müller, *HCH*, and Winckler agree in the main in their translations. Schorr, *WZKM*, XVIII, 232, offers a new translation: *er seinen Vater und seine Mutter findet*, taking i-ḥi-a-aṭ from ḥāṭu, I, *to see, to find*, rather than ḥāṭu, II, *to overcome, to force*. Cf. also Johns, *BALCL*, *the child discover his own parents*. Peiser gives a new translation in *OLZ*, VII, 235: "Wenn ein Mann einen Unmündigen zur Sohnschaft angenommen hat, sobald der von ihm Angenommene seinen Vater oder seine Mutter wählt, mag dieser Aufgezogene zum Hause seines Vaters zurückkehren." Müller accepts Lehmann's translation, and I am inclined to do so. Translate: "If a man take a young child as a son, and, when he takes him, he uses undue influence upon his father and mother, that adopted son shall return to the house of his father." Lyon gives in his analysis the subject of this section as "Incorrigible (?) Child," following Müller, *HCH*, and Winckler.

§ 187, **32**, 50, on NER.SE.GA, cf. Prince, *AJT*, VIII, 604, = manzaz pāni; literally "a front place," then applied to a high official as here. Prince would read the "ideogram GIR.SE.GA, i. e., 'one who places or gives the foot' (GIR, 'foot' + SEG A = nadānu, 'give, place'), hence a 'retainer.'" The form mu-za-az for man-za-az is noteworthy.

§ 191, **32**, 85, read with Delitzsch and Zimmern, re-ku-zu instead of tal-ku-zu. Cf. Delitzsch, *DLZ*, 1904, 3030 and Zimmern, *ZDMG*, LVIII, 956. Cf. Hunger, *Becherwahrung*, 65, 66. Cf. also Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 25, which is to be corrected with *HCH*. Re-ku-zu = rēḫûtsu from קרר *to be empty*. Translate: "that son shall not go away empty." **32**, 89, Ungnad would read IGI.III.GAL = inam šaluštam, *ZA*, XVIII, 27.

§ 194, **33**, 33, ir-ta-kaš, cf. Delitzsch, *DLZ*, XXV, 3031, where he says: "Mir scheint für das Verbum rakâšu, I, 2, sowohl etymologisch als durch den Context dieser Stelle die Bedeutung 'anlegen' so gut wie gesichert.

¹⁸ I quote from Müller, *WZKM*, XVIII, 124.

§ 202, **33**, 76, Müller identifies lētu with the Hebrew לֶחֶם, *check*, *GH*, 156, 1). Johns, *BALCL*, translates *privates*. **33**, 80, read kinaz instead of gen. kinazi.

§ 218, on zimmum kabtum and nagabtum, cf. Pinches, *Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, XXXV, 243 sq., where he translates the former *severe operation* and argues for the meaning *cataract* for the latter.

34, 11, am-ḥa-zu; cf. Ungnad, *ZA*, XVII, 362, where he regards zu as not containing the personal suffix šu.

§ 221, **35**, 3, Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 18, regards še-ir ḥa-nam as one word but without further explanation. They may be taken as a compound, in which case šēr would serve as a determinative.

§ 226, **36**, 38–40, ab-bu-ti warad la še-e-im: Peiser translates, *die Marke des Knechtes, das sie nicht gesehen werden kann, schneidet*; Schorr, *WZKM*, XVIII, 233, *Schneidet die Marke eines unverkäuflichen Sklaven ab* (damit er anderweitig verkauft werden kann). Cf. *HCH*; and Daiches, *Alt-babylonische Rechtsurkunden*, 98, 3), "ein Mal prägte er ein."

§ 232, I cannot accept Schorr's reading and interpretation, *WZKM*, XVIII, 235.

§ 234, **36**, 6, ip-ḥi from piḥû, literally *to pitch*, then *to build*, *to construct*.

§ 235, **36**, 17, the translations of Johns, Müller, and *HCH* take izzabar from šapâru, *to send, to commission*; those of Peiser and Winckler from šabâru, *to break, to suffer damage*. **36**, 21, inaḫar is from naḫâru, *to tear apart for the purpose of reconstruction*. Winckler is inclined to follow Scheil who translates *changera* from nakâru.

§ 237, **36**, 48, ša li-ib-bi-ša = *its cargo*.

§ 238, **36**, 59, uš-te-li-a-aš-ši = *to refloat*.

§ 240. In this section we have (1) the elippum ša maḥir-tim and (2) the elippum ša mukkelbitim, which have been variously translated by the commentators. Scheil translates (1) *un bateau un marche* and (2) *un bac de passeur*; Johns, (1) *a ship going forward* and (2) *a ship at anchor*; Müller, (1) *Schiff im Laufe* and (2) *Schiff vor Anker*; Peiser, (1) *das stromabwärts fährt* and (2) *ein aufwärts geschlepptes Schiff*; *HCH*, (1) *boat under way* and (2) *ferryboat*; Winckler, (1) *ein stromabgehendes Schiff* and (2) *ein stromaufgehendes*; Oettli, (1) *Frachtschiff* and (2) *Fahrschiff*; Ungnad, (1) *Spediteursschiff* = *Transport-*

schiff and (2) *Fährmannsschiff* = *Fähre*, cf. *ZA*, XVIII, 43, where Ungnad argues that *ša maḥirtim* and *ša mukkelbitim* define a class (of people). They might equally well define a class of boats. Delitzsch, *HWB*, 586, discusses *mukkelbitum* under מִקְלֵבִית and translates *Fährschiff*. **36**, 72, Scheil has omitted *elippum* after *ša* and connected *šu* with *te-bi-a-at*. Winckler has inadvertently followed Scheil. Cf. *HCH*, and Ungnad, *ZA*, XVII, 368, 5).

§ 241, **36**, 82, *a-na ni-bu-tim*, *security for debt*.

§§ 242, 243 belong together. In **36**, 87, the original text has GUD.ID.UR.RA for GUD.DA.UR.RA = *alap šakâki* (Winckler); *HCH* = draught ox. **36**, 89, cf. *HCH*, C, 1 for the scribal error and XC, No. 109, for the reading of the third sign.

§ 247, **37**, 24, read *uh-tab-[bi]-it* for *uh-tab-da*.

§ 248, **37**, 32, read *šêr pasutti-šu* = *the flesh of his nose-ring*, or some such sort of instrument for keeping the ox tied or hobbled. Cf. for *šêr* rather than *elit*(?), as read by all the other commentators, *HCH*, Sign-List, No. 81.

§ 250, **37**, 44, *alpum zu-ga-am*, Scheil, *un bœuf furieux*; Johns, *a wild bull in his charge*; Müller, *bei seinen Laufe auf der Strasse*; Peiser, *wildgewordener Ochse*; *HCH*, *a bull, when passing through the street*; Winckler, *ein Ochse beim gehen auf der Strasse*. Cf. Schorr's remarks on Peiser's translation in *WZKM*, XVIII, 235, and Delitzsch, *HWB*, 492, a.

§ 251, **37**, 53, 54, I am indebted to Ungnad for the restoration of this line, cf. *ZA*, XVII, 369.

§ 253, **37**, 73, *al-da-a-am*, reading and meaning uncertain. **37**, 74, read *[i-]ḫi-ip* from *ḫîpu*. **37**, 75, for *ip-ki-ṢU* = *ip-ki-zum*, cf. Ungnad, *ZA*, XVII, 354.

§ 254, **37**, 85, *u-te-en-ni-iš*, literally *to weaken*, hence *to weaken by overwork, to overwork*. **37**, 86, *ta-a-na* = *quantity*. Cf. Arnolt, *AJSL*.

§ 256, **37**, 97, *bi-ḥa-zu* = *piḥat + šu* must be taken as the object of *apâlam* rather than the subject of *ilî* as Winckler would make it; cf. his translation, "Wenn seine Gemeinde (Gau) nicht für ihn einzutreten (zu zahlen) vermag;" cf. also Schorr's remarks on Winckler's reading, *WZKM*, XVIII, 235, and Johns.

§ 257, **38**, 1, read *APIN* = *errišum* instead of *AK.ŠU*, with Zimmern, *ZDMG*, LVIII, 956. Cf. my translation, *HCH*.

§ 261, **38**, 22, NA.GAD = naḫidum; so also Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 16.

§ 264, **38**, 49. The text is very uncertain. Peiser's reading may be accepted for lack of a better, viz.: ga-am-ra-tim. On ID. šu, cf. Ungnad, *ZA*, XVII, 367, 1) where he would read ID = idum, since id-šu would go over into i-zu in the Code.

§ 273, **39**, 16, da is to be taken as a scribal error for id, it, and the form ta-ak-ti-it is a تَفْعِلْ from ḳatû, cf. Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 18, and Schorr, *WZKM*, XVIII, 236.

§ 274, Zimmern would restore as follows: **39**, 29, [BU]R. GUL = burgullu, *Steinmetz*; **39**, 31, [Z]ADIM = sasinu, *Juwelier*; **39**, 33, [S]I = nappaḫu, *Schmied*.

§ 381, **39**, 91, translate, *shall declare the money which he paid* (for them), *HCH*, and not with Peiser, "*für Geld hat er gekauft*," *sagen*; cf. also Delitzsch's translations of §§ 280, 281 in his review of Peiser in *DLZ*, XXV, 3030.

The Prologue and Epilogue are not translated by Müller in his edition of the Code. They were also omitted by Johns in his edition. He has, however, translated them in *BALCL*. Johns has admitted that his first translation of the Code was too literal. In my opinion, his translation in *BALCL* is far too free. In the Prologue and Epilogue, there are signs of haste and carelessness in his translation which are not characteristic of this careful scholar. In the few notes which I shall offer on the Epilogue, I shall pay little attention to the translations which are not accompanied by transliterations.

40, 12-14, Johns does not connect these lines correctly. **40**, 18, for the suffix šināši, cf. Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 31. **40**, 21, read [nu-r]a-am with Winckler instead of [u]-si-am, and cf. *HCH*, 98, 1). So also Peiser. **40**, 26, Winckler reads igigal-lûti; cf. Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 360, who reads bišit uznim. **40**, 38, Peiser's mu-gal-li-tu(?) is to be read mu-gal-li-tam. **40**, 44-48, for the correct reading, cf. *HCH*, Winckler, Ungnad, *ZA*, XVII, 366, 369, and XVIII, 1), Schorr, *WZKM*, XVIII, 236, where he criticises Peiser's incorrect reading. Cf. also Johns, *BALCL*, where he incorrectly translates: *whose club is straight; of evil and good in my city I was the director*. **40**, 53-56, Winckler translates: *in meinem Schutz habe ich sie ihre Tätigkeit in Frieden ausüben lassen*. **40**, 63-66, Johns misconstrues this section. **40**, 69, cf. Winckler's išdu-šu, *HCH*, and

Ungnad, *ZA*, XVII, 361, 368, 369. **40**, 74–78, *cf.* Lyon's admirable treatment of this passage, *JAOS*, XXV, 266–268, where he brings out the meaning more clearly than *HCH*, although my interpretation was the same as his. **40**, 79, 80, *cf.* *HCH* and Ungnad, *ZA*, XVII, 366. *Cf.* also Johns, *BALCL*, where he translates: *The King that is gentle, King of the city, exalted am I*. **40**, 92, *cf.* *HCH*, which accepted the reading of Ungnad, *ZA*, XVII, 372, 373. *Cf.* Johns' translation, *BALCL*. **40**, 93—**41**, 2, *cf.* Lyon's discussion in *JAOS*, XXV, 277, 278, in which he draws rather a fine distinction between *to remember* and *to mention*.

41, 9, N.A.R.U.I, *cf.* Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 17, 1) where he argues against a phonetic reading of these signs. **41**, 11, *cf.* Schorr, *WZKM*, XVIII, 237. **41**, 18, 19, *cf.* *HCH*, and Schorr, *WZKM*, XVIII, 237, where he criticises Peiser's rendering. **41**, 20–40, *cf.* Lyon, *JAOS*, XXV, 268, 269, where he gives the correct construction of this section. **41**, 39, da(?)-ni-tam, *cf.* *HCH*, whose reading cannot be defended; Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 18, and 56, 1); Winckler, "da-ni-tam 'laut'(?), von dannu, also ein Wort dannitu 'laute Stimme' anzunehmen?"; Schorr, *WZKM*, XVIII, 237, where he cites Delitzsch (in a lecture) as combining da-ni-tam with the Aramaic ܕܢܝܬܡ; Lyon, *JAOS*, XXV, 269, would understand it as equivalent to *danniš mightily*, or, *with a loud voice*. Peiser and Johns mistranslate with Scheil and *HCH*. **41**, 49, *cf.* Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 9; Lyon, *JAOS*, XXV, 277; Johns, *BALCL*, whose translation is at fault. **41**, 59, 60, *cf.* Schorr, *WZKM*, XVIII, 237, where he reads a-na wa-ar-ki-a-at û-mi; *cf.*, however, Scheil, Winckler, Peiser, *HCH*, and Ungnad (*ZA*, XVIII, 38), who read a-na wa-ar-ki ša-at û-mi. **41**, 73, u-zu-ra-ti-ia = *my statues, my reliefs*, *cf.* *HCH*; Winckler, *Denkmal*; *cf.* Schorr, *WZKM*, XVIII, 238, *Gesetz*. **41**, 79, Peiser's suggestion to read li-zun instead of li-gul cannot be accepted. *Cf.* also Schorr, *WZKM*, XVIII, 238. **41**, 98, 99, Lyon's translation of kinâ-tim šarâķu, *to communicate laws*, is very acceptable. **41**, 103—**42**, 1, is still in doubt. *Cf.* Peiser, *nicht blos, um nicht leeres zu nehmen, (sondern) um den Demütigen zur Ehre zu bringen*; Winckler, *den Hohen zu erniedrigen(?)*, *den Stolgen zu demütigen, den Hochmuth auszutreiben*; Johns, *above and below I am the whirlwind that scours the deep and the height*.

HCH, Schorr (*WZKM*, XVIII, 238), Ungnad (*ZA*, XVIII, 18) do not attempt translations.

42, 8, uš-te-pi-el, III, II, 2, from bēlu = pēlu; cf. Schorr's remark, *WZKM*, XVIII, 238, 2), which, as usual, is inclined to be dogmatic; cf. also Ungnad, *ZA*, XVII, 356, 2, who suggests a stem 𒍪. **42**, 25, ir-ri-it, cf. Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 9, 2). **42**, 44, cf. *HCH*, and Ungnad, *ZA*, XVII, 367. **42**, 56, for the Present, cf. Ungnad, *ZA*, XVII, 374. **42**, 59-63, a most difficult passage, cf. *HCH*; Winckler, *eine Empörung, die seine Hand nicht bändigt, den Wind(?) seines Unterganges gegen seine Wohnstätte lasse er wehen*; Peiser, *möge mit einer Revolution, sodass seine Hand nicht die Fülle seines Verderbens bezwingen kann, ihn aus seiner Wohnung verjagen*; Johns, *cause for him an endless revolt, an impulse to fly from his home*; cf. also Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 18, 19 and 44. **42**, 100, i-la-ka, cf. Ungnad, *ZA*, XVII, 374, 1).

43, 5, 6, Johns translates incorrectly, *curse him with forgetfulness*. **43**, 19, be-lum tu-kul-ti, cf. *HCH*, Ungnad, *ZA*, XVIII, 19, and Schorr, *WZKM*, XVIII, 238, who accepts the treatment of *HCH* and Ungnad and criticises Peiser's rendering. **43**, 27, read šīram lim-nam with *HCH*, as over against purussām with Scheil and Winckler. **43**, 39, 40, Schorr reads with *HCH* and Winckler against Peiser, cf. *WZKM*, XVIII, 239.

44, 10, 11, translate *may she water the earth with their blood*. *HCH* translates too freely; cf. Schorr, *WZKM*, XVIII, 239. **44**, 17, Winckler transliterates balāṭ ša ri-ma-am and translates *ein Leben des Erbarmens*; Peiser, ṣab-da ri-ma-am, *besiegt (ihm)*, [*Schon*]ung nicht gewähren; cf. *HCH*. **44**, 31, Winckler transliterates ki-ma i-il-tim and translates *wie mit einer starken Fessel aus Rohr(bast) soll er seine Untertanen binden*; cf. *HCH*. **44**, 37, Johns, *BALCL*, translates bi-ni-a-ti-šu with *fevers*. **44**, 47, Winckler connects kir-bi-it with 𒊕irbitu, *Flur, Gefeld*. **44**, 66, cf. Schorr's criticism of Peiser's translation, *WZKM*, XVIII, 239. **44**, 84, 85, Peiser, *Flüche, die haften*; *HCH*, *powerful curse*—read the plural; so also Winckler; cf. Schorr, *WZKM*, XVIII, 239, who does not attempt a translation.

I. In the transliteration I have used the mimmation with the ideograms following the forms which have a syllabic spelling. None of the other commentators have followed this method. Cf. *HCH*, XIII;

Ugnad, *ZA*, XVII, 355: "Ein weiterer Nachteil der . . . Transcription ist die Vernachlässigung der Syntax bei Umschreibung von Ideogrammen: wenn sich aus phonetischen Schreibungen bestimmte Regeln für den vokalischen Auslaut ergeben, so sind diese bei den Ideogrammen anzuwenden;" Zimmern, *ZDMG*, LXVIII, 955: "Nur hätte bei den Ideogrammen nicht nur die Kasusendung, sondern auch die Mimation konsequent durchgeführt werden müssen."

II. Ud (*HCH*, List of Signs, No. 148) has the values ud, ut, tam in the Code, but never the value tu or tum; cf. *HCH*, XIV; Hunger, *BW* (= *Becherwahrnehmung bei den Babyloniern*, 7; Ugnad, *ZA*, XVII, 354; Zimmern, *ZDMG*, LXVIII, 954.

III. Tu and te are always expressed by tu and te in the Code; ta on the other hand is always distinguished from ta, while ti is sometimes written ti, di and sometimes ti: cf. *HCH*, Glossary; Ugnad, *ZA*, XVII, 354.

IV. Identified by Dr. E. J. Banks, Field-Director of the Expedition of the Oriental Exploration Fund (Babylonian Section) of the University of Chicago, as Bismya, cf. Report No. 21, May 20, 1904: "I am finding upon the tablets from this and other parts of Bismya the name of the city UD.NUN.KI, but in nothing that I have here can I find the pronunciation of this combination. That it is the name of the city there is no doubt," and Report No. 23, June 11: "You probably have long known the pronunciation of UD.NUN.KI. In the Brünnow which has just arrived I notice that it may be pronounced 'Adab,' and I am wondering if the name Adappa can be the same. I have no means of determining it here. It is certain that Bismya is not Isin; it may be Adappa." For a description of UD.NUN.KI = Adab = Bismya, cf. the Reports of the Oriental Exploration Fund of the University of Chicago, and the following cuts which are taken from Reports Nos. 14



and 24. For the statue of Da-udu, found at Bismya, and the inscription of three lines on its right upper arm, cf. Dr. Banks' Report No. 24 and the cut below.

For a list of the honorable gentlemen who were Vice-Presidents of this Fund and of the well-known scholars who formed its Advisory Council, cf. Report No. 1. For two editorials in which the Jewish editor of *OLZ* insults American scholars, American clergymen ("would be

Reverends"), and American missionaries; and in which he shows an ignorance of facts and no conception of the amenities existing between gentlemen and scholars. *cf. Orientalistische Litteratur-Zeitung*, VI, Nos. 6 and 9—a journal of unconventionalities, whose cover should be changed from green to yellow.

V. "Society in the time of Hammurabi consisted legally of the following classes: 1) the awilum, 2) the muškênum, and 3) the



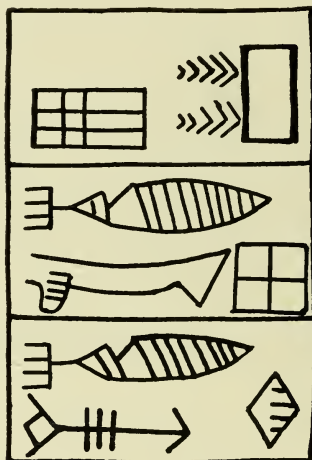
The Camp of The Expedition of the Oriental Exploration Fund at Bismya.

wardum-amtum, and their rights and privileges were clearly defined. The first, awilum, included the house-holders, property owners, the wealthy and upper classes. Awilum has been translated by *man* or *person*. In a few places, it is almost necessary to translate *gentleman*, as over against *freeman* [or *plebeian*]. The second, muškênum, has been variously translated, *pauper*, *poorman*, *serf*, *retainer*, etc. The etymology of the word goes to show that the muškênum was poor. He could, however, hold property and slaves. He was free. He held a position half way between the awilum, upper-class man, and the wardum-amtum, slave. I have used the word *freeman*. The third class, wardum-amtum, consisted of male and female slaves;" *cf.* now Johns, *BALCL*, 74, 75.

VI. *Cf. HCH*, XIII: "The Translation which is placed opposite the Transliteration is rather literal. In most cases, the Babylonian idiom has been retained in the English, *e. g.*, to take a wife, to set one's face, to cast one's eyes upon, etc. In other cases, I have not hesitated to change the form of expression for the sake of clearness. An effort was made to avoid technical language." My criticism of all the translations would be that they are all too literal, too stilted, too impossible to read with any ease and pleasure. Many of the critics confine their attention to comparatively unimportant criticism, *e. g.*, the plural, and insist upon

the literal reproduction whether it is idiomatic English, French or German. The time has come when we should have translations of the Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions in idiomatic English, French, and German.

VII. "Dieses *-m* findet sich nur am Ende von Verbalsätzen und scheint ein pausaler Zusatz zu sein, der irgendwie mit der Betonung zusammenhangen dürfte. Leider ist es mir unmöglich, eine bestimmte Regel für den Gebrauch des *-m* festzustellen; fast scheint es, als ob man in den oben erwähnten Fällen ganz nach Belieben setzen oder fortlassen konnte."



Inscription on the arm of the statue of Da-udu.

THE BISMYA TEMPLE.

BY EDGAR JAMES BANKS,
The University of Chicago.

The long, low, extensive group of mounds at Bismya is divided into two unequal parts by a valley, the bed of which is little higher than the surrounding desert. Toward its eastern end the valley divides itself, sending branches about a small, square, pyramidal hill, and, again uniting, disappears in the desert. It marks the bed of the ancient canal, probably the Shatt en-Nil, and the square mound, eleven meters in height and about ninety meters in the circumference of its base, as its shape suggested before excavations in it were opened, conceals the ruin of the staged ziggurat. The temple at Bismya was situated upon an island in the canal. The level surface of the summit of the mound has been employed as a modern cemetery; among its graves, and upon the windward or eastern side, changeable sand drifts have accumulated. The sides of the hill sloped in its steepest places at an angle of forty degrees; the corners, as usual, are turned to the cardinal points.

The excavations at Bismya began at the temple, and were continued most of the time for five consecutive months, with at least part of the workmen, or with a force varying from sixty to one hundred and twenty. The summit and sides of the hill were cleared of the drifting sand; the great trenches at the base of the ziggurat were dug out; the platforms of the various temples, the chambers whose walls could still be traced, and other constructions were emptied of the rubbish which had accumulated in them; tunnels were dug from the three sides of the ziggurat to its center, and five shafts were sunk to the level of the desert, or to the virgin sand which showed no traces of occupation. One of the shafts, twelve meters in depth, was dug from the center of the ziggurat, another from its southeast side, and three followed the vertical drains of the temple inclosure.

On account of the unfortunate robbery of the engineer by Arabs, the notes of the survey of the temple were lost. Approximate dimensions only can be given until the survey of Mr. Persons, the present engineer, is at hand.

The summit of the hill was identical with the base of the ziggurat of Dungi, king of Ur, 3750 B. C., as about forty bricks inscribed with his name evidenced. A casing of burned bricks, about one meter in width, inclosed the tower, while its interior was of dirt; or, if it were libbin or unbaked clay bricks, as the interior of the ziggurat at Mugheir, it had so disintegrated as to be indistinguishable from clay. The bricks of the casing were square, measuring $31 \times 31 \times 6.5$ centimeters, and of a light-yellow color. The inscribed bricks averaged about one to twenty of the uninscribed, and were laid, inscription downward, at intervals of no regular order. The cement employed was well-mixed clay—not the bitumen of the structures beneath it, nor the lime used at a later date. The inscription, which was carefully written by hand, and not stamped—thus accounting for the scarcity of the inscribed bricks—contained nine lines of writing in the style of the cuneiform peculiar to the third millenium B. C., and simply stated that Dungi, king of Ur and of Kengi, had dedicated the platform to his goddess Nin-har-Sag. How many stages the ziggurat originally contained it is impossible to learn; the small amount of the rubbish which had accumulated about its sides indicated that it never possessed more than two or three stages, or that its bricks had been removed to provide material for other constructions. At the south corner a heap of bricks, about four meters in length, lay as they had fallen outward from the walls.

A flight of steps, from which the burned bricks had been removed, ran half the length of the southwest side, and led from a wide, brick-paved platform to the summit of the first stage of the ziggurat. A drain of round tiles, each about twenty centimeters in diameter and a meter in length, ran beneath the paving of the platform to a vertical drain of an earlier period. Apart from the traces of the mud brick walls of the chambers upon the northwest side, nothing else of the temple of Dungi remained.

The brick inscriptions, which presented no clue to the name of the temple or city, an inscribed brick of Gimil Sin, a later king of the same dynasty of Ur, and a single inscribed tablet which was so quickly covered with an incrustation of saltpeter that it was illegible, were the only inscribed antiquities found in Dungi's temple. We had learned only that we were dealing with ruins of the third millennium B. C., and that Nin-har-Sag, as Belit, in the early days, was called, was worshiped there.

It seems that the Bismya temple has long provided material for the builders. Just beneath the stage tower of Dungi were a few large, square, burned bricks of Sargon, measuring $46 \times 46 \times 9$ centimeters. Although none of them were inscribed, they were recognizable by their peculiar size. An inscription upon gold, of his son, Naram Sin, was found among the bricks, and from other parts of the ruins, contract tablets and seal impressions, bearing the name of Sargon, supported the supposition. However, the bricks were so scattered and so few in number that no plan of his temple was possible. It appears to have been slightly smaller than the one above it.

Less than a meter below the bricks of Dungi, and below the bricks of Sargon, appeared traces of a series of royal builders whose names and dates are still unknown. From the shapes of the bricks and from the markings upon them, it is evident that at least fifteen rulers added their repairs to an earlier temple of plano-convex bricks. The bricks are long and thin, with the average dimensions of $25 \times 22 \times 5$ centimeters; the upper face is slightly convex, and marked with grooves formed by drawing the fingers across the clay before it was baked. Some of the grooves ran lengthwise, others diagonally or crosswise, and varied in number from one to five; if the grooves were crosswise, the number was repeated from the opposite corners. As the examination of the various strata of the temple revealed, the grooves were the forerunners of the brick inscription, and their number and position were equivalent to the names of the kings.

This long series of rulers seems to have added but little to the temple. Repairs with bricks of four grooves appeared on the northeast side, at a level slightly lower than the platform of Dungi. The three-grooved bricks appeared most frequently, and were employed on the same level as the four-grooved bricks, but in different parts of the temple. A platform upon which rested a large, uninscribed, marble door-socket on the southeast side, later floors of two peculiar constructions at the south corner, which I believe to be ancient crematoria, and a drain at the edge of the northwest side, represent the chief repairs of the ruler who employed these bricks. At a considerably lower level, and chiefly northeast of the ziggurat, were repairs in bricks of two grooves. One instance which was of service in determining the comparative ages of the bricks is worthy of mention. A horizontal drain,

about twenty centimeters in diameter, and ten in depth, and constructed of two-grooved bricks, carried the rain water from the platform over its edge. Forty centimeters beneath it was a similar drain, constructed of plano-convex bricks, which had belonged to a previous temple, while at a higher level were bricks of three grooves.

All of the platforms, and the repairs of the ziggurat thus far described, belonged to constructions later than the great plano-convex temple beneath, which represent a period several centuries previous to Sargon's time—the most flourishing period in the history of Bismya. The age of the plano-convex brick is generally placed at 4500 B. C., and the excavations at Bismya, which have revealed traces of a long dynasty of kings previous to Sargon, represented by the long, grooved bricks, confirm that date. It was not until the ruins of this temple were reached that the valuable finds which the mound yielded, began to appear.

The plano-convex temple was by far the most imposing construction at Bismya, and it appears to have been one of the most magnificent of the Babylonian temples. The greater part of the island which it covered was surrounded by a wall of unbaked bricks, four meters in thickness, and inclosing the temple quadrangle. As less than fifty centimeters of the wall remained, its height could not be determined. Within the center of this large inclosure, and upon the ruins of earlier occupations made level by the filling in of unmolded clay, was an immense square platform a meter above the surrounding ruins. Along the center of its four sides were inclined plains leading to it. Upon the platform was the temple proper, consisting of two parts of nearly equal size. The ziggurat, the base of which now rises to the average height of a meter and a half above the platform, is constructed with a casing of plano-convex bricks, and filled in with unmolded clay. Its original height could not have exceeded a few meters, and it is doubtful if it ever consisted of more than a single stage, or, at the most, of two stages. This was the prototype of the later ziggurat, which with age increased its height; the ziggurat at Ur, erected in 2800 B. C., possessed three stages; the Borsippa ziggurat was reconstructed by Nebuchadnezzar to the height of seven stages.

The other part of the temple, somewhat larger in size and of a similar construction, stood at the west corner of the ziggurat.

Its surface was entirely covered with a layer of bitumen; along the edges of its walls, and at each corner, were a number of round niches lined with bitumen; it appears that records, or objects of special value, may have been deposited in them, as were the cylinders in later Babylonian times. As the sand was cleared from the niches, nothing but a small, uninscribed fragment of a marble vase appeared in one of them. It is possible that originally chambers stood upon the platform, but, if so, their walls have entirely disappeared.

Within the temple inclosure there are still traces of the habitations and of the occupations of the people who were connected with the temple. Perhaps the most interesting, because unique, are two large chambers at the south corner of the ziggurat, one of which is oval in shape, the other square. Both are provided with pits which contained ashes to the depth of half a meter; above the pits, and projecting halfway over them, were platforms charred with the fire from a furnace from without. The oval-shaped room was originally covered with a dome; its lower bricks are still in place. These rooms undoubtedly were the crematoria of the city, and they may account for the entire absence of early Babylonian graves.

A considerable amount of pottery was employed in the temple service, and to provide it was a furnace of the usual Babylonian type, and constructed of plano-convex bricks, which was discovered at a short distance from the southwest side of the temple. Examples of the Babylonian furnace are found at all ruins; it consisted of a number of ridges constructed of bricks; the fire in the hollows between them burned the pottery which rested upon them. A number of vertical drains, consisting of large, short, circular tiles, set one upon another, and extending to the sand below, marked the site of the houses of the attendants of the temple. Upon the northwest side of the inclosure were three such drains; at the southeast side were two, and search would probably have revealed others.

It was among the ruins of this temple that inscriptions in considerable quantities were recovered. Upon the shoulder of a large white-marble statue of a king was a Sumerian inscription of three lines, revealing the name of the ancient city as UD-NUN-KI, and the name of the temple as E-shar, or possibly E-mah; both names are mentioned in the Hammurabi Code. The name of

the king, Da-udu, is undoubtedly the same as David; it not only explains the name of the biblical king as of Sumerian origin, but presents history with a new, and one of its oldest characters. Fragments of eight other marble statues, all uninscribed, forty-two inscribed fragments of marble vases, marble lamps, a bas-relief in white marble, a marble and three bronze tablets, several hundreds of marble, alabaster, onyx, porphyry, and sandstone vases, fragmentary or entire, some of which were richly carved and inlaid with stones and ivory, hundreds of terra-cotta vases, fishes and cats of ivory, marble and terra-cotta statuettes, and a number of bronze objects, are among the finds which the ruins of the plano-convex temple contained, and from which its history may be reconstructed.

A shaft sunk from almost the center of the temple hill to the undisturbed sand of the desert revealed a remarkable accumulation of débris of an occupation previous to the plano-convex brick temple. Below is a list of the various strata which appeared as the shaft was dug.

Surface.	Drifting sand.
Depth of 1 m.	Platform of bricks of Dungi, 2750 B. C.
Depth of 2.50 m.	Top of platform of plano-convex bricks, 4500 B. C.
Depth of 3.85 m.	Bottom of the platform resting upon a clay foundation.
Depth of 4.65 m.	Layer of white ashes, 17 cm. thick, resting upon an adobe wall 1.72 m. high.
Depth of 6.37 m.	Stratum in which limestone blocks appeared.
Depth of 6.57 m.	Layer of ashes resting upon a mud wall.
Depth of 8.57 m.	At this level were two large terra-cotta urns.
Depth of 9.17 m.	Layer of potsherds resting upon a layer of dirt 1.10 m. in thickness.
Depth of 10.87 m.	Small intact terra-cotta vase.
Depth of 11.97 m.	Layer of potsherds beneath an adobe wall 1.10 m. in height.
Depth of 13.20 m.	Fragments of black pottery—the earliest traces of civilization found at Bismya.

PLAIN STONE VASES FROM BISMYA.

BY EDGAR JAMES BANKS,
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Along the northwestern edge of the platform of the Bismya temple which was constructed of plano-convex bricks, at a period not far from 4500 B. C., was discovered an inclined plain leading from the temple inclosure below. In the corner formed by the platform and the inclined plain was the refuse heap of the temple. While digging along the edge of the platform the workmen came upon this ancient temple dump. This layer of débris, which was about half a meter in thickness, covered a spot about four meters long and two wide; above it was scarcely a meter of dirt.

It is usually from the refuse matter of the ancients that the archaeologist may reconstruct their life and history. Many of the most valuable of the treasures from the Babylonian mounds were discarded as worthless; this may be said of the famous Telloh statues in the Louvre. Two marble heads from Bismya, of which one belonged to the statue of the Sumerian king David, were found lying together in the corner of a room of later construction, as if abandoned by a child who had used them for playthings. So our ancient Bismya temple dump, from which the priest probably turned his face as he passed, contained some most valuable antiquities. From it the workmen removed dozens of baskets of fragments of stone vases of almost every conceivable shape. An occasional bit of terra-cotta, or of a plano-convex brick, appeared, but most of the fragments were marble, some were alabaster, a few were porphyry, some onyx or sandstone or freestone; all were polished; some were engraved with a simple design; others were elaborately wrought with the figures of men and of animals; a few were inlaid with ivory and precious stones, and others were inscribed with the name of the temple or of an unknown king. With two or three exceptions, all were fragmentary; one or two lamps were found complete. For more than a week my daily occupation consisted in washing the stone fragments discovered the previous day, scrubbing away the hard dirt, and scraping off the saltpeter which clung to them; an inscription or an engraving,

or fragments which would fit together to form a complete vase, was the frequent reward. A few of the fragments were large enough to enable me to reconstruct the shape and to ascertain the dimensions of the original vase.

The time when the corner by the inclined plain ceased to be a dumping-ground was not far from 4500 B. C.; in it were fragments of none but plano-convex bricks; it was concealed beneath the platform of a pre-Sargonic temple; the inscriptions found upon some of the vases bear the name of no known king, yet the frequent occurrence of the name of the temple in characters as ancient as any yet discovered, and the fact that at a later period terra-cotta supplanted stone, which was more difficult to obtain and to work, all point to the fifth millennium.

Where did the ancients who lived in the stoneless, alluvial plain obtain the great variety of beautiful material for their vases? It is an old theory that the stone for the Telloh statues was brought from the Sinaitic peninsula; those who advocated it had probably never crossed the Arabian desert, or followed down the Euphrates, or been in the great plateau of central Arabia. Almost every variety of stone is found there. Sargon, of 3800 B. C., went to the Mediterranean, and the Mesopotamian Arabs of to-day bring great stones from the sacred mountains about Mecca, which they hew into mortars for pounding coffee; yet these are no reasons to suppose that the ancients went farther than the neighboring mountains for their stone. White marble is the most common; not far from Deir on the Euphrates is a mountain of white marble. The desert toward Hayil is strewn with great boulders of diorite.

How did the ancients shape their vases? Most of the vases are circular; Nos. 45 and 47 are oval; No. 38 is oblong; No. 23 is square; Nos. 44 and 46 are shell-shape; the remainder are circular. The stone employed was generally marble, so soft that one might scratch it with the finger nail; less frequently appear vases of onyx, alabaster, porphyry, sandstone, freestone, and in a single instance granite was discovered in the temple dump. The perfect symmetrical curve of the circle and the uniform symmetry in every part of the vase indicate the employment of the lathe, or some contrivance which answered the purpose. A lathe must also have been used in the manufacture of seal cylinders. In the circular vases the stone was so highly polished that all marks of

the lathe were obliterated; in the shell-shaped lamps, Nos. 44 and 46, the marks of the chisel, in spite of the polish, are visible. The instrument used in cutting the softer stone might have been flint; flint saws were commonly employed during the fifth millennium. Bronze, silver, gold, and an alloy of bronze and gold were known to the Babylonians of that period.

Whence did the Babylonians derive the variety of beautiful shapes which they imparted to their vases? Unless it was from their own imaginative minds, it would be difficult to surmise. Beneath the Bismya temple were various strata filled with the remains of previous ages; the lowest could not have dated far from 10000 B. C. Possibly the beautiful forms are the result of an important stride in their own civilization. The more one learns of the culture of the dwellers of Mesopotamia of the fifth millennium B. C., the more he is convinced that then was their golden era.

What use in the temple service was made of the vases? Nos. 44, 45, and 46 were olive-oil lamps; their shapes were derived from the conch, which also at an earlier period was employed as a lamp. In No. 45 the projection which resembles a handle is a groove for containing the wick; the lower part, terminating in the head of an animal, is the support. It is possible that in the Babylonian temple, as in the later Jewish synagogue, lights were continually burning. Some of the vases appear to have been ornamental; the interior, as in No. 28, was so shallow, or in Nos. 10, 11, and 20 so small, that they could be of little practical use. The walls of vases represented by No. 9, the most common form, were sometimes worn away by perpetual use, until a hole resulted. The inscribed vases, usually of a more fantastic shape, which I do not describe in the present paper, were evidently presented to the temple as votive objects; undoubtedly many or all of the inscribed vases found their way to the temple in a similar manner; this, however, does not preclude their employment in the temple service. One may imagine that some of the vases were used as drinking-cups; some of the larger, as No. 1, for the storage of water; some for the storage of oil for the lamps; some for incense; some might have been filled with food and placed before the statues of the gods; some were probably bowls for ablution; No. 47, which was not found in the temple dump, but in a private house near the west corner of the ruins, was a cosmetic vase with

traces of *henna* in one compartment and *kohl* in the other. Many of the fragments were coated with a black substance; others were as clear in the interior as on the exterior. Whatever the use of each vase may have been cannot now be determined; however, this ancient dump-heap describes the fittings of the temple of six thousand years ago as possessing a service of a magnificence which was never equaled in later Babylonian times, and hardly surpassed in the classical times of Rome and Greece.

DESCRIPTION OF VASES.

	Height	Diameter	Thickness of wall
1. White marble	29.0 cm.	at top 27.0 cm.	3.0 cm.
2. Yellow limestone	8.0	23.0	1.6
3. Hard yellowish marble	5.0	12.0	0.4
4. Hard yellowish marble	?	4.5	0.3
5. White marble	11.0	18.0	
6. Alabaster	?	12.0	
7. Onyx with reddish bands	10.0	15.0	1.3
8. Pinkish onyx	9.0	16.0?	0.8
9. Yellowish marble in various sizes, a common form.			
10. White marble	6.0	7.5	
11. White marble	7.0	9.0	
12. Yellowish marble	5.0	16.0	0.6
13. Alabaster	12.0	30.0	
14. Alabaster	6.5	10.5	1.5
15. Alabaster	9.0	14.0	1.1
16. Alabaster	10.0	?	1.4
17. Onyx	8.0?	?	0.7
18. Onyx	6.5	8.0	1.1
19. Onyx	15.0+	19.0	2.1
20. White marble	8.0	8.0	2.5
21. Alabaster	18.0	16.0	3.0
22. Porphyry	12.0+	10.0?	2.0
23. White marble	?	?	
24. Blue freestone	9.0	14.3	0.7
25. Porphyry	5.5	?	0.5
26. White marble	11.0	8.5	1.5
27. White marble	7.0	12.0	1.5
28. White marble	28.0	28.0	"
29. White marble	22.0?	greatest 35.0	
30. Soft limestone	11.0	at top 12.0	1.2
31. Gray sandstone	11.0	" 16.0	1.5
32. Green porphyry	10.0	" 29.0	2.0
33. Yellow marble	7.0	" 20.0	1.5
34. White marble	8.0	" 12.0	
35. Alabaster	9.5	" 10.0	0.8
36. White marble	10.0	at base 6.0	1.0
37. White marble	9.0+	" 10.0	0.9



DESCRIPTION OF VASES—*Continued.*

	Height	Diameter	Thickness of wall
38. White marble	8.0 cm.	at top 11×18 cm.	1.5 cm.
39. White marble	13.0	“ 10.0?	1.5
40. White marble	10.0	at base 5.5	1.5
41. White marble	8.0	at top 16.0?	1.8
42. White marble	9.0	at base 4.3	0.6
43. Alabaster	6.0	“ 4.2	1.0
44. White marble lamp	6.0	length 16? width 9	
45. Alabaster lamp	12.0	oval shaped { shortest diameter 14 longest diameter 20	
46. White marble lamp	5.5	length 18 width 13	
47. White marble cos- metic vase from III }	6.0	width 4 length 9	

TYPICAL MIDDLE KINGDOM SCARABS.

BY GARRETT CHATFIELD PIER,
The University of Chicago.

The Scarabs I herewith publish are taken either from the collection now preserved in the Art Institute, Chicago [Murch], or from specimens in my own cabinet. As will be seen these are all seals used by private persons belonging to the early Middle Kingdom whose names and titles they bear.



The Inscriptions run as follows:

1. "Great Chief of a Southern Ten, Neit-hotep." Spiral design. Wing cases inlaid with small golden disks. Obsidian. [Art Institute.]
2. "Sebek-hotep, son of the [] the Ranger for the Table of Offerings, Mentu-hotep." Steatite, white. [P. Coll.]
3. "Great Chief of a Southern Ten, Wah-Ptah." Spiral design. Steatite, brown. [Art Institute.]

4. "Great Chief of the Southern Tens, Inou-n-ib." Rope Pattern.
Steatite, blue. [Art Institute.]
5. "Guardian of the Child, Senb-she-ma" [Remarkable title]. Spiral
design. Steatite, green gone brown. [Art Institute.]
6. "Noble of the Suite, Wig Keeper, Duduk." Spiral design. Steatite,
green. [Art Institute.]
7. "Keeper of the Great Store Chamber, Hotepy." Spiral design.
Steatite, blue. [Art Institute.]
8. "Wab-her-Satet(?), Son of Khnum-hotep." Steatite, white.
[Art Institute.]
9. "Hereditary Prince, Count, Treasurer, Overseer of the House,
Oldest in the Hall, Sert." Steatite, blue. [Art Institute.]
10. "Bearer of the Seal, Overseer of the Treasury, Har." Steatite, red.
[Art Institute.]
11. "Oldest in the Hall, Pepa." Steatite, brown. [Art Institute.]
12. "Oldest in the Hall, Dedu." Steatite, blue gone brown.
[Art Institute.]
13. "Bearer of the Seal, Keeper of the Palace Court, the Herald, Min-
hotep." Steatite, white. [P. Coll.]
14. "Bearer of the Seal, Overseer of the Palace, the Great Noble, Ptah-
redu." Steatite, green. [P. Coll.]
15. "The Ruler, Iqetf Repeater of birth." Steatite, brown. [P. Coll.]
16. "Bearer of the Seal, Confidential friend of the King, Overseer of the
Treasury, Nebt-shesh." Steatite, white. [P. Coll.]

AN EGYPTIAN STATUETTE WITH SUN HYMN.

BY GARRETT CHATFIELD PIER,
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The original is now preserved in the Art Institute, Chicago. It represents a man kneeling, who holds before him a tablet inscribed with twelve lines of hieroglyphics. The figure is clad in a tight-fitting white garment; the face, arms, and legs are painted dull red; while upon the head is a large, well curled black wig. The hieroglyphs are filled in with bright-blue paint, the lines between them with red. The height of the tablet is 12 inches; width, $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches; the figure behind it being a trifle higher. Material, limestone. Case V, No. 135.

The inscription, for a revision of which I am greatly indebted to Professor Breasted, reads:

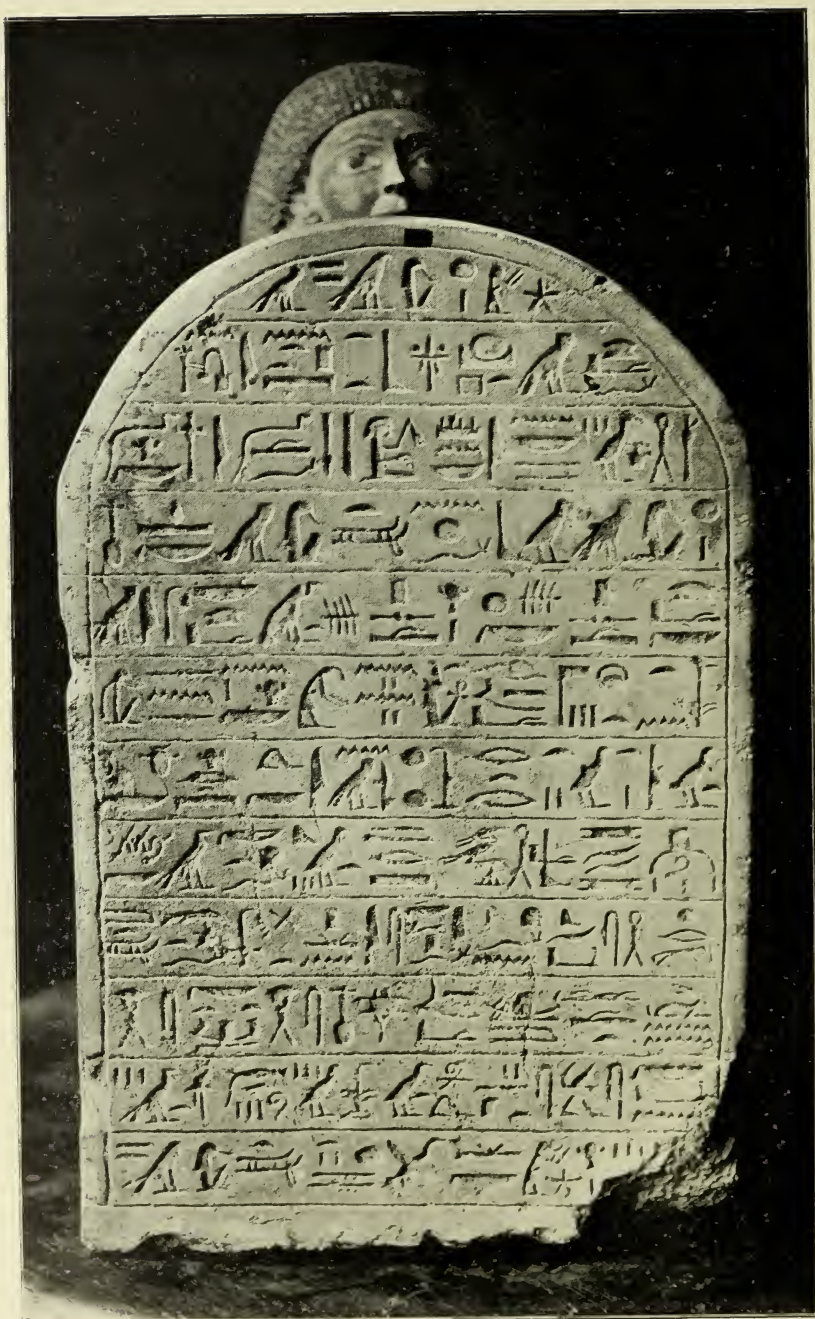
Adoration to Re-Harakhte when he riseth in the Eastern Horizon of Heaven by the Scribe of the Table of Offerings of the Lord of the Two Lands, Neb-amon, the justified, saith he: Hail to thee! Re when thou (he) risest. Atum when thou settest; beautiful is thy rising when thou dost shine upon the back of thy mother (the sky) appearing as the King of the Assembly of the Gods.

The goddess of Truth poureth out oblations before thy face, while the two crews glorify thee at all times.

When thou traversest heaven, thy heart expands with joy, the Two Regions overflow with thy joy.

Prostrate is thy enemy; his head is cut off from his neck(?) while his body is given over to the fire as a thing not existing.

The Boat of the Rising Sun (*M'ndt*) hath a fair wind, the Boat of the Setting Sun (*Msktt*) hath reached its destination. People of the South, North, West and (East) draw thee [in thy barque], while adoring thee, oh thou Primordial Being, oh Atum-Harakhte.



THE ASSYRO-BABYLONIAN ^{amêl}TU.BÎTI.

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Johns, *ADD.* II, p. 106, in discussing this officer, inclines to the view that he is not a temple official of any kind, but merely an occupant of temple lands, charged with certain dues to the temple. This opinion he would support by reference to royal endowments of the temples, in which connection the ^{amêl}TU.bîti is sometimes mentioned. But this is inconclusive. Such connection with temple-endowments may imply nothing more than the modern pastor's connection with the manse and glebe, or parsonage, or parish house. There is further the objection that in the Cultustafel of Sippara, also mentioned by Johns, the most important provisions for the reorganization of the temple services are made *kî pî* ^{amêl}TU.bîti, "according to the instructions of the TU.bîti." Further, instead of being taxed for the maintenance of the temple, provision is made for his support. He receives five shares of the daily receipts as against two shares received by the *naš paṭri*. In H. 167, K. 582, rv. 17, *sqq.*, we may compare the daily allotment for a *mašmašu*, four shares, and for a *pirḫinu*, two shares. There is also an ^{amêl}TU.bîti II-u in the Cultustafel, a species of classification improbable in the case of mere tenants or taxpayers. We also find ^{amêl}TU.bîti who do not appear to be connected with the temple, and are probably palace officials. In various places we find them spoken of in a way that suggests high rank. I do not see how to reconcile the various data, except upon the theory that the TU.bîti was a great official. Accepting the reading *erêbu* for TU as the key to the solution, we may find him to be the ^{amêl}ša pāni ni-ri-bi, as written syllabically in H. 875, Bu. 89-4-26, 71, obv. 7. This may be preferable to the reading *êrib bîti* cited by Johns. That *nîrib* rather than *êrib* is used in reference to the entrance of a structure of any kind, is shown by numerous passages; cf. *HWB.*, p. 127. That we must understand the officer in question to be something more than a mere porter or janitor, at least much more than is expressed by our modern conceptions

of, and associations with these terms, will appear from the following data.

In H. 512, K. 528, we have a letter that is suggestive. The writer does not state his office, but, though addressing the mayor of the palace, he does not call him "my lord." Such mode of address clearly indicates that he is of higher rank than the recipient of the letter.

Order of Nabû-zêr-lišir to the mayor of the palace: (Admit) ^mNabû-šarḥû-ikīša; ^mZêr-Ištar, a chief repairer(?) (*HWB.*, 527, Johns, *ADD.* II, p. 174; Van Gelderen, *BAS.* IV, p. 532); ^mUbbâ (one Arabian)(?) a palace employee (son of the palace); ^mMûṣurâ (one Egyptian)(?) a palace employee; the wife of the rab-mâti (mayor of the palace); three sons of ^mNabû-zêr-lišir; the wife of ^mNabû-šarḥû-ikīša; two daughters of ^mNabû-zêr-lišir, (and) his daughter-in-law.

The 8th day of Tammuz.

^mNabû-zêr-lišir to (any) son of the palace.

Total, fourteen persons admitted.

It would seem that we here have an ancient pass ticket. The writer furnishes an order of admission to various persons who wish to enter the palace enclosure. Addressed primarily to the mayor of the palace, it is countersigned at the bottom, authorizing admission by any "son of the palace" who may be on duty at the gate when the ticket is presented. The note was written rapidly, the determinative *amêlu* being omitted in some places; and hence there is uncertainty about the third and fourth names in the list. The plural sign is omitted throughout, and there is an error of two in the total as the letter stands in Harper's text. It is to be noticed that six of the persons mentioned are members of the writer's family, and one is the wife of the mayor of the palace to whom the order is addressed.¹ Two persons are palace officials of some type. It would appear, then, that even persons prominent in the social circle of the palace required, if they had been outside its precincts, a special order for their re-admission, and that there was a person authorized to issue such tickets; perhaps an *amêl ša pâni niribi*.

In H. 511, K. 654, we have a letter from a man of the same name, Nabû-zêr-lišir, written, however, in the Babylonian script. He reports a number of things—garments, gold, silver, horses, sheep, etc.—for Abu-êrba "of the king's seed" and his

¹The cases cited by Johns, *ADD.* II, p. 157, make it appear that *rab mâtî* and *rab êkalli* are equivalent titles.

wife, all of which seem to be consigned to his charge in the palace (dib-bu na-aṣ-ru-ti ša ^mNabû-zêr-lîšir ina êkalli du-bu-ub). If this person is the writer of H. 512, we should have some further suggestion as to the rigid supervision he would exercise over everything entering the palace.

H. 475, 83-1-18, 3, is a short but suggestive letter, probably from Ibašši-ilu, written in the Babylonian character:

To the king, my lord, thy servant (Ibašši-ilu). May Nabû and Marduk be gracious to the king, my lord. Referring to Iddin-aḫû, and Ina-ḫîbi-Bêl, his brother, the TU.bîti: According as the letter of the king my lord gave orders to me, viz., send them those carpenters—now I will send them unto the king my lord.

Apparently the two officers named have made a requisition for carpenters for some purpose, and the king has sent word to Ibašši-ilu to supply the needed men. The inference is natural that alterations or repairs of the temple may have been under the supervision of the TU.bîti, and this inference we shall find supported by other data to be cited. The two officers named also appear in another important rôle; cf. *infra* H. 496. In the meantime we may compare the change in organization made by Joash, 2 Kings 12:4 *sqq.* It is to be observed there that so long as the chief priests, those officiating about the altar, handled the temple receipts, the house of Yahweh was in bad repair, and there were no available funds. Only when the matter was taken out of their hands and placed in charge of "the priests, the keepers of the threshold," was the house put in proper condition. The system adopted, the subdivision and distribution of priestly functions, is an interesting parallel to the Assyrian method. Modern critical views upon the relative importance and the chronological priority of priest and Levite may require a slight modification. Some such assignment to special duty would be necessary in the nature of the case, even though all alike were called "the priests, the Levites." 1 Chron. 9:17-29, will be reflected in the further study of the TU.bîti.

It would seem that the ^{amēl}TU.bîti was prone to make alterations in the temple interior without consulting anyone. The letter H. 493, 83-1-18, 13, is from Ašur-rîšûa, a priest of Ninib, who is not pleased with what has been done. The purport of this broken letter is clear enough. During the reign of the king's father the TU.bîti of Ninib had altered the golden orna-

ments of the head of Ninib. At the time of writing, a company of workmen are employed in cutting strips of silver from the walls. The priest begs that the king will stop the work, and remarks that he himself has not been consulted, though he thinks himself "their brother" in such matters. With this we may compare H. 468, Rm. 217. Some Babylonians complain to the king that Hūlala, a TU.bīti of Šamaš, has come down and carried off "a sky² of gold" from Êsagila. What action the priests took with reference to the matter is illegible. Some of the people are incensed, and say that they are no longer safe; that they will be made like the city of Gana. Such stripping of costly decorations from temples, to beautify Assyria, may have been one of the causes of Babylonian revolts from Assyrian domination.

To these evidences of the authority of the TU.bīti in the matter of repairing or altering the temples, we may add Rm. III, 105, a broken cylinder, published by Winckler, *AOF.* I, pp. 256 *sqq.* It comes from the period of civil war in Babylonia, near the middle of the eighth century B. C. The inscription is of one Nabû-šum-imbi, who tells us that he is a nišakku and a TU.bīti of Nabû, as well as šâḫû (Winckler, NIN.ku) of Borsippa. He records his restoration of the temple, which was damaged during the civil war. Nabûšumiddina, a son of Dainî-Nabû, and a TU.bīti of Nabû, had made a night attack upon the temple in Borsippa, which Nabûšumimbi was holding with an armed force. The pious Nabûšumimbi prayed to Nabû until sunrise, and as a result the enemy were beaten off. The successful combatant expresses his gratitude to Nabû by repairing the temple.

Passing from this relation of the TU.bīti to the repairs or alterations of the temple, we find another interesting feature of his office. Iddinaḫû and Ina-ḫibi-Bêl, two officials already mentioned in H. 475, appear in this important function in H. 496, K. 474. Ibašši-ilu writes to notify the king that the third of Elul is the day for the arraying of Bêl, and that the opening of the great gate of the temple takes place upon the fourth.

²AN. E., the usual mode of writing ša mē in the letters. I doubt its being a plural of "God," as this would not be in accord with the epistolary usage. Moreover, Êsagila is the residence of Marduk, and we should hardly expect miscellaneous idols therein, judging from the complaint against Nabonidus in the Cyrus cylinder. Further, would an official of the Šamaš cult have use for images from the Marduk temple? He would, of course, have use for the gold.

Iddinaḥū and Ina-ḫibi-Bēl, the TU.bīti are, as the king knows, the persons properly in charge of those ceremonies. The writer asks that they be sent, and that they may stand with him on the day of the opening of the gate. It is probable, then, that they were expected to pass upon the dress of the worshipers as well as that of Bēl, when they stood with Ibašši-ilu. The position of Ibašši-ilu himself I do not know. In other letters of this group, HH. 496-501, we find him reporting that the king's orders for beds, coronets for Anū, and other temple fittings, have been filled. Since the data already given show the TU.bīti to be connected with such matters, and since in the letter under consideration Ibašši-ilu wishes two well-known threshold-keepers to stand with him on the great day of the opening of the gate of Bēl, he may have been such an official himself. He may also be identifiable with one of two men of his name prominent in Thompson's *RMA*.

These suggestions concerning the functions of this official recall the Cultustafel. Col. V, 26 *sqq.*, specifies, "and furniture of the interior³ according to the instruction of the two ^{amēl}TU.bīti-MEŠ." The king's share of the daily expense (*cf.* 2 Chron. 31:3) is the food for the priests, and "two shares according to the instructions of the two ^{amēl}TU.bīti;" then follows the list of clothing provided. Special garments are required for the seventh of Nisan, the tenth of Iyyar, the third of Elul, the seventh of Tišrit, the fifteenth of Marchesvan, and the fifteenth of Adar: altogether six festal robes each year given by the king. The interesting features in these details are the evident authority of the TU.bīti, and the fact that the third of Elul requires a special festal garment for the servitor of Šamaš, as it does in the letter last quoted for the servitor of Bēl. In H. 338, 82-5-22, 98 Mār-Ištar also discusses ceremonies for Bēl and Marduk upon the third of Elul, and the opening of the gate is mentioned (*cf.* Van Gelderen, *BAS.* IV, p. 533). We may compare with these specifications for particular garments upon occasions of unusual significance, Jehu's order: "Bring forth vestments for the priests of Baal" (2 Kings 10:22). In the twenty-third verse is an order for special scrutiny of the assembly, that only duly qualified worshipers may be within.

³ U-na-at lib-bi is not translated by Jeremias, *BAS.* I, p. 275; *cf.* u-na-a-te ḫurāši kaspi sipirri parzilli iše u abné ēpuš, from an Ašurbanipal inscription, cited by R. F. Harper, *HEBRAICA*, X (1894), 198.

This may be parallel to the request of Ibašši-ilu that the two wardens may assist him in the great gate upon the festal day. In Ezekiel's code we observe that the priests must leave their vestments in the side chambers, not being allowed to come among the laity wearing their official apparel (Ezek. 42:13, 14; 44:19). The Levitical code (Exod. 38:4) will readily suggest itself; but till we know precisely what the Babylonian or Assyrian robes were, we cannot undertake a comparative study of Jewish and Mesopotamian priestly apparel. But it seems clear from the cuneiform data so far that the great guardian of the threshold was responsible for the proper preparation of every one who would enter the temple. Only thus could the perfection of each rite be guaranteed (observe the conditions and reservations in the oracles of the Sun-god); and only thus could the temple be kept free from defilement. The post was no sinecure, and we shall see that the warden needed to know all that occurred within the temple as well as what was approaching from without.

Our data also allow the conclusion that the average temple had two chief officers of this type; and this may imply two gates of the temple in daily use, besides the great gate opened upon special occasions when the presence of the king was expected. We observe that there are two threshold keepers in the Cultustafel; two are called for by Ibašši-ilu; in the narrative of Nabûšumimbi two rival threshold keepers are warring for the possession of the temple; in the Cultustafel one of the two officers is an ^{amēl} TU.bīti II-u. We may venture the suggestion, then, that Ezek. 44:1-4; 46:1-3, 8-12, give us some idea of the arrangement of a Babylonian temple (*cf.* also 1 Chron. 31:14 for "the porter toward the east") and of the movement of the throng upon a festal occasion, under the supervision of the TU.bīti. Further questions concerning the arrangement of the Babylonian temple will be considered in a separate paper. For the modification of Ezekiel's plan see Josephus, *Ant.*, XV, II, 5, and 1 Chron. 9:17-28.

As showing the familiarity of the TU.bīti with all that occurred within the temple, the letters of Akkullanu are peculiarly interesting. This writer is shown in H. 539, K. 17, rv. 14, 15, to be a TU.bīti of the temple of Ašur. In H. 16, K. 428, in a brief report to the king, too broken to be intelligible, he is associated with Adadšumušur, Arad-Êa, and Ištaršumêreš. This places his activity in Esarhaddon's reign, a fact further supported

by H. 43, K. 122. His prominence will be more clearly realized when that of his associates is remembered. Their activity is noticeable in the excursus upon the Esarhaddon succession. The letters of Akkullanu, HH. 42-50, 429, 678-681, suggest that he is the proper person to address for information upon almost any matter connected with the temple, or its service.

H. 42, K. 14, has been translated by Van Gelderen, *BAS.* IV, p. 518. Akkullanu reports that on the third of the month (Elul again?), Ašur and Bêlit went forth in peace and returned in peace. Goblets and drink for the king have been duly prepared, and rites which had ceased through neglect have been re-established; but the *šuraru*-wine for the month Tišrit has not been provided for Ašur. The chief vintner, his deputy, and his secretary have alike neglected the matter.

The next letter, H. 43, K. 122, is the most interesting of all. Van Gelderen, *BAS.* IV, p. 513, has given a translation, and Johns gives a general view of it, *ADD.* II, p. 105, and a complete translation *ABLCL.*, p. 377, changing his former view slightly. In both he differs somewhat from Van Gelderen. I am not sure that the reverse of the letter is perfectly understood. But the bearing upon the duties of the TU.bîti is in no wise affected. In the first part of the letter, he replies to an inquiry of the king informing him of the governors, cities, and provinces that have neglected to send the regular offerings to Ašur. Nineteen are named; and as several of these are certainly provinces outside of Assyria itself, we may have a sidelight upon the unwillingness of the Hebrew prophet to see his king maintain either hostile or dependent relations with Assyria.⁴

The reverse of the tablet reports the facts concerning two priests (Van Gelderen, "scribes"), who had been consecrated by Sennacherib, but had lost their positions through some ceremonial mishaps, "not great sins." One is "priest of the bake-room,"⁵ shaved when he was young. The other is chief of the larder, or almost a "head-waiter" for the temple tables. Each seems to have been deposed for some inattention to proper shaving

⁴ Compare the frequent complaints concerning rebels in the cuneiform historical inscriptions. "They had had not sent to inquire after my peace—they scorned the solemn oaths by the great gods."

⁵ With this priest of the bake-house, compare the little cooking chambers flanking Ezekiel's temple (after Babylonian models (?)), 46 : 19-24, and the chambers and those in charge of things baked in pans, 1 Chron. 9 : 31 ; 23 : 28, 29 ; Lev. 2 : 5-7 ; 6 : 21 ; 7 : 9.

(ina la šaḥ-sa-su-te la gal-lu-ub).⁶ Thus apart from the information the letter gives concerning the TU.bitī, it is of interest as suggesting some exacting ritual of the Assyrian priesthood. Apparently, cuttings of the "corners of the head and beard" were seriously regarded. As for the TU.bitī, he is evidently expected to know the past history of the temple as well as current events. One would infer his familiarity with the temple library, or record room. The record of the neglect of stated sacrifices by certain governors recalls the frequent complaints of the Hebrew narratives, and the list of nobles bringing offerings,⁷ in Numb. 7.

H. 185, K. 1396 is interesting after this report concerning delinquent governors. Nabûbêlšunu tells Ašurmudammīk that he has been wronged by Akkullanu. The latter has obtained twelve or thirteen mana of silver from Ašurmudammīk, for the breaches of the shrines of Ašur and Bêlit. Nabûbêlšunu tells his friend to make a memorandum of it, and to plan for its recovery. It would seem that Akkullanu, when charged with repairing the temple, was inclined to somewhat vigorous measures for securing the necessary funds.

H. 44, K. 604 gives us no information. Akkullanu asks the king for a reply to a previous letter. In H. 45, K. 691 he announces that he will "bring to Dilbat" (?) an axe,⁸ pilaḳḳu that has been called for. It is probable that some sacred symbol,

⁶ For shaving the head as part of the ceremony of consecration to the priesthood, compare Ašurbānīpal, L³ 12, 13. Observe the many cylinder-seals and reliefs in which a shaved person is brought before a god, *e. g.*, the DeClercq collection. The appendix to Curtiss, *PSR.*, 268, by Wm. Hayes Ward, gives a number of illustrations. Notable are figures 3, 7, 10, 17, 19. A fully appareled priest wears a queue, sometimes plaited, sometimes turned up behind, or decorated. As an unclean person must keep from the altar in general Semitic usage, we must regard these scenes as illustrating consecration or purification. Some of the figures may represent females, but some are certainly shaved males. Compare the shaving of the Levites when consecrated, Numb. 8:7; the shaving of the head of the Nazarite as a mode of cleansing, Numb. 6:9, 18; cf. Acts, 18:18; 21:24; shaving of a leper for cleansing, Lev. 14:8, 9; 13:33; Egyptian shaving of one coming to court, Gen. 41:14; the shaving of Egyptian priests mentioned by Herodotus, the prohibition in the case of Hebrew priests, Lev. 19:27; 21:5; Deut. 21:12; Ezek. 44:20. On general subjects see A. R. S. Kennedy, *DB*, I, p. 536; Carlsaw, *DB*, III, p. 478.

⁷ These duties of Akkullanu suggest the inventory clerk, and Ezekiel's familiarity with all costly merchandise (Ezekiel 27:1-25). Was Ezekiel a priestly threshold keeper, becoming in consequence, familiar with all kinds of articles likely to be brought before a god?

⁸ We may think of the double axe, Greek *πῆλεκυς* as contrasted with the *ἡμιπέλεκκυς*, now familiar from excavations of the Cretan Labyrinth, which bears traces of Semitic influence; the double axe (or mace) in the hand of Ištar (?) on some seals (Ward, appendix G, to Curtiss, *PSR.*, fig. 7); the lance, as emblem of Ninib, as evidenced by *kakkab šukūdu*, *kakkab tartāḥu*, and the upright lance upon his (?) altar, DeClercq, 308, 371, 373; the double trident (thunderbolt (?)) in the hand of Marduk when assailing Tīamat in various reliefs and seals; the bow of Ašur in reliefs and historical inscriptions and O. T. reference to worship of military emblems, Hab. 1:16.

or piece of temple furniture, is here referred to. Both letters have been translated by S. A. Smith, *AL.*, and Delitzsch, *BAS.* I, p. 222; II, p. 30.

In H. 429, Rm. 69, translated by Van Gelderen, *BAS.* IV, p. 530, Akkullanu is again concerned with the decorations of the temple. A golden tablet, a peace offering from the king, is missing. Akkullanu reports that it has been seen in the possession of a jeweller(?), and that he will institute a rigid examination of the man before a scribe. That the ornament came safely to the temple from the king's messenger is doubted, and this person should be questioned. Perhaps the same subject is discussed in the badly broken H. 592, K. 1116. Of the fourteen original lines, not one is left entire. We can recognize some reference to a golden tablet and a jeweller.

In H. 47, K. 979 Akkullanu announces libations and royal sacrifices at Tarbiši, and asks the king if he should attend them (*cf.* R.F.Harper, *HEBRAICA*, X, 1894. p. 196), adding that the king cannot complain this time of not being duly notified. In H. 48, K. 1019, and H. 49, K. 1168, the breaks are too serious to allow any connected narrative; both, however, may refer to the same subject. In H. 48, Akkullanu says: "Regarding the priests of the city of Aššûr(?), about whom the king sent to me, I will myself inquire of some priest . . ." H. 49 is much longer, and begins, after greetings, "As to that priest about whom the king, my lord, sent to me, he made complaint from his heart three times on that day." The next twenty lines are too fragmentary to yield any connected sense. About the middle of the reverse we find instructions for ritual on certain days; on the tenth day at noon a censer; on the eleventh and twelfth, great sacrifices (*niġê*). There follows a report concerning a complaint made by the priest of the Temple of Seven at Nineveh, about whom he had sent word to his lord the king. The son of some priest of the Temple of Šamaš has been asked for; his name, Akkullanu says, is Zari, son of Nadinapal.

The next letter of this group, H. 50, K. 1242, broken also, refers to sacrifices before which Akkullanu stands. Sumerian ritual titles are discernible, and *tamarti* of Sin and Šamaš are mentioned. HH. 678, 680, 681, are too fragmentary to be of value, but H. 679, 83-1-18, 61 is interesting as being a purely astrological report. Star movements are discussed at some

length, though nearly half the letter is broken away. We may question if the writer is the same Akkullanu as above. Bezold thinks there are two. Yet knowing the dominance of astrology in Assyrian thought and ritual, it would seem that all the learned classes and priestly authorities should have some general knowledge of the subject, as it would be impossible otherwise for them properly to perform their daily functions. This is supported by Thompson's *Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers*. Nos. 81, 259 are from a rab dup-šar; Nos. 109, 266, from a rab A. BA.; No. 160 from a dup-šar; No. 58 from the rab A.ZU; No. 83, 115F, 183, 243, from a maš-maš. There is a fair presumption then, in favor of some astrological knowledge upon the part of the TU.bīti. It is practically confirmed by H. 401, 83-1-18, 30, in which the king writes to Zêru'a and the TU.MEŠ.bīti of Dûr-ilu, that the month Adar has an excess, and that they must adjust its calendar. The various astrological reports from Akkullanu in Thompson's collection, and the two other similar reports in *HABL*, need not then be assigned to some other than our temple warden, as Bezold conjectures.

Whatever we may conclude as to the warden Akkullanu's connection with astrology, the passages cited indicate that the TU.bīti was a very powerful official. That his position was one of great honor may be fairly inferred from the case of Nabûšum-imbi, previously cited. A nišakku, and šâķû of Borsippa, he would have us know that he is also a TU.bīti of Nabû. Perhaps it is for the purpose of maintaining his right to this position that he battles with Nabûbelšunu. Akkullanu's activities and associations suggest high honors. We may add from Nergl. 13, "Nabûšumukîn, the TU.bīti of Nabû and šatammu" of Êzida, spoke to the king Neriglissar thus: Give me Gigītum, your virgin daughter to wife."

Some further texts must be noticed. In the large inscription of Merodach-baladan II one Ina-ķibi-Bêl is mentioned as a ħazânu. Is this the person above mentioned as a TU.bīti by Ibašši-ilu in HH. 475, 496? For ħazânu is a term sometimes

⁹The šatammu kept the šutummu or "storehouse," to which the TU.bīti assigned valuable property, and from which the ķêpu drew the supplies which he loaned out when handling the temple revenues. Compare the šâ-tam bīt u-na-ti on Boundary stone 103, col. IV, 9, with the u-na-a-ti of the temple in Note 3, supra, and the amêl šâ-tam of the amêl TU.bīti of Marduk in VA. 451 (*KB*. IV, p. 172). The term seems Babylonian rather than Assyrian. In Strassmaier's contracts we sometimes find the šatammu furnishing grain and money from the temple stores. He is occasionally mentioned in connection with the ķêpu.

applied to the TU.bîti. In H. 65, K. 629 (*JEL.*, p. 153.), Nabû-šumiddin writes to the mâr-šarru. The functions shown in the letter are those we have already observed. The writer announces that the temple of Nabû will be opened on the third of Iyyar. The couch of the god will be consecrated (for this ceremony see K. 164, *BAS.* II, p. 635); the god will return on the fourth; sacrifices are announced, and the route of the sacred procession is given. All may enter the temple who bring one 1/2 ka of food. The writer calls himself the 1/2 azânu of the temple of Nabû. In H. 366, 82-5-22, Nergal-šarrâni writes of a like event; the temple opening on the third of the month and the god returning on the fourth to the couch. The 1/2 azânu's connection with the ceremonies is noted. In H. 419, 83-1-18, 24, we have a joint letter from the šangû II-u and the 1/2 azânu. In H. 49, 83-1-18, 13, the 1/2 azânu of the temple is expected to aid in stopping certain alterations. The other 1/2 azânu passages in the RFHarper letters refer generally to city officials. Such may be observed in the historical inscriptions and in the Tell el Amarna letters (*cf.* Zimmern, *ZA.* VI, 248). Winckler, *AOF.*, 246, argues that the title was originally that of the prefect of a village or petty district. But the ideogram for 1/2 azânu, NU.BANDA, is common in early cattle accounts in the E. A. Hoffman collection (Radau, *EBH.*). The 1/2 azânu there is only a common herdsman. In early Boundary stones, II R. 43, III R. 41, the 1/2 azânu is a household officer. The inference is that the word 1/2 azânu has no restricted technical sense; that it is merely "overseer" (*ZA.* VI, p. 349), and can in consequence be applied to various functionaries. The inference finds support in the Jewish use of the borrowed term. Four 1/2 hazans are distinguished in Jewish literature; (1) the 1/2 hazan, or mayor, of a city; (2) the 1/2 hazan, or sheriff of a court of justice; (3) the 1/2 hazan of the temple (the "porter" of 1 Chron. 10:26-29) who had charge of the robes, treasures, and utensils and who aided the priests in robing and disrobing (*cf.* the Arabic 1/2 hazîn, "treasure-keeper"); and (4) the 1/2 hazan of the synagogue, whose functions may be regarded as a survival of those of the temple 1/2 hazan. (For particulars see, *Jewish Encyclopædia*, VI, pp. 284 *sqq.*)

Considering the very definite character of the reports we have examined, coming from the TU.bîti or 1/2 azânu, we may fairly conjecture, when we find such reports of the order of services

coming from one who does not mention his office, that the writer is the official under consideration. Thus we may conclude that Nabûpašir who writes H. 134, K. 1234, and Nabûkudurûşur, writer of H. 858, K. 822, are such officers.

Compare with the data so far given the account given by Curtiss, (*PSR.*, chap. XII) of the sacred classes in modern Syria. "In addition to the care that the minister takes of the shrine he is repository of such legends as may exist with respect to the origin of the shrine, and the life of the saint whose names and deeds are celebrated." This suggests the Cultustafel.

In S^b 77, 4, we read of an *akîl kisalluhî*, or "vakeel of the anointed ground." Perhaps this is the early equivalent of TU.bîti.

The passages cited inevitably raise the question, What was the relation of this officer to the *şangû*? For we have found a *şangû* complaining of alterations made by a TU.bîti. Akkul-lanu gives us nearly all the information derivable from the letters concerning the *şangû*. The latter appears the less conspicuous personage because the matters treated do not fall within the range of his official activity. He may have been influential in popular intrigues, as he is mentioned in two or three reports of governors and military officers, and it was deemed advisable to place two sons of Esarhaddon in the most powerful priestly offices of the empire. While the TU.bîti clearly supervises the general procedure within the temple, we must not conclude that the *şangû* had no field of his own in which he was final authority. We must regard him as the personage who officiated at the great altar upon the solemn occasions when the keen-eyed and fully-appareled TU.bîti stood in the great gate and carefully inspected the incoming worshipers. The religious texts published suggest the domain of the *şangû*.

From the evolutionary standpoint both officials are certainly descended from the primitive custodian of the sacred shrine, the Arabian *kahinû*, the Hebrew *cohen*. The cuneiform literature affords some data for the history of their development. Neither is known so far in the older inscriptions. We have in them the term *patesi*, sometimes translated "priest-king," and comparable with the Semitic sheikh of a petty district, who may also be the custodian of its sanctuary. This translation has been fairly questioned. Budge and King (*AKA.* I, p. xvii; cf. Jensen,

KB. III, 1, 66) would interpret its use by early Assyrian kings as indicating their subjection to Babylonian secular domination. It may as plausibly be construed as showing that there was then little religious differentiation from Babylonia; and Lehmann (*BAS.* II, p. 614) has shown that the early rulers of Shirpurla use it regularly, whether they were independent or vassals. Moreover, in Assyria they are patesis of gods, not of other princes. In the Hammurabi period the patesis are clearly a sacred class. In *LIH.*, 42, we read of one man libbi mârê bârê, and four libbi mârê patesi; in *LIH.*, 17, we have two men libbi mârê patesi and one libbi mârê bârê. This pairing "the sons of the seers" with "the sons of the patesis" recalls the seers or "sons of the prophets" and "the priests the Levites" of the O.T. In *LIH.*, 43, we learn of a sharp protest made at the drafting of a patesi for corvée service. The recipient of the letter is given to understand that the patesis are exempt from such service. We must understand this exemption to be upon religious grounds; we cannot suppose that one secular governor had seized his confrère for corvée service. Compare Ezra, 7:24. In *LIH.*, 91 a šangû of Anunit is included as one of the patesis of Anunit. This form of statement makes us think that the šangû is appearing as a subdivision of the patesis. In *LIH.*, 38, a patesi in the service of one officer wishes to be transferred to the employ of another. The king directs that an exchange be effected and that the employer see that the patesi's field is properly cultivated for him (*cf.* Neh. 13: 10-13). This is extremely interesting, as suggesting that the patesi class was not yet concentrated at a few great temples, but that many were household priests like Micah's Levite in Judges 17. It would also appear that Hammurabi is endeavoring to control the distribution of the patesis; the *LIH.* letters show also that he looked after the temple revenues. The grouping of patesis with seers, bârûti, by Hammurabi, should recall the references to visions and a seer-goddess by the patesi Gudea, Cylinder A.

This same distribution of the patesi class is shown us a thousand years later. Boundary stone No. 105, III R. 41, records the sale of a piece of land. In the list of curses we find one that is unique: an imprecation upon him who shall ignore this deed of sale and present the land to any god, or king, or patesi of a king,

or patesi of a šaknu, or patesi of a bit tēmi. Remembering how frequently we find the kings seizing lands and setting them aside for various temple servitors, we may suspect that patesis, in the days of Marduk-nadināhi, B. C. 1115, were not universally admired, and that they were to some extent household priests, as the data above would suggest: and that the term in the boundary stone is still a general one for shrine functionaries of any kind. Furthermore, we find documents of the later periods showing sacred personalities holding two or three leading offices: as Nabû-šumimbi, already cited, is both nišakku and TU.bīti. And the ability of a man to establish his household shrine and priest is shown by documents like BW. 88-5-18, 704, cited by Johns, *ABLC.*, p. 223, in which Nûr-ilišu dedicates to a god one SAR of land, and decrees that Pi-ša-Samaš shall be its priest, Nûrilišu himself laying no claim to the priesthood. This is an excellent parallel to the case of Micah (*cf.* Nbd. 773). One or two passages in the religious texts may support this view of the patesi as a religious functionary instead of a secular "deputy." Marduk is the well-known mašmaš ilāni: the incantations of the mašmaš ilāni are sometimes called for: in his name evil is adjured to leave. But in *DES.*, p. 168, "E" 41, Ea tells Marduk, "perform for him the incantation of ^{ilū} pa-te-si-MAḤ." In *DES.*, p. 34, "By ^{ilū} Pa-te-si-GAL.ZU.AB be thou exorcised." Is the "Great Purifier," Marduk, the PATESI.MAḤ? The second reference seems to be to Ea.

In Babylonia the title patesi persists to the end, the title TU.bīti appearing as early as the time of the Cultustafel. But since the restoration described there is "according to the instructions of the two TU.bīti," and since this office tended, as we shall see, to be hereditary, we may fairly conclude that the office existed, and that its functions were fixed before the destruction of the temple by the Suteans, several centuries earlier. It may even date back to the days of Ḥammurabi, since we have found the šangû known at that time. The TU.bīti appears in other familiar documents of the time of Nabûpaliddin, to be mentioned presently in connection with the hereditary character of the office.

But in Assyria the title patesi soon disappears. It is claimed by Irišum, B. C. 2000, who is called centuries later a šangû of Ašur (Scheil, *Rec. Trav.*, XXI, 1900); by Šamši-Adad and Išme-Dagan, B. C. 1850-1800. Tiglathpileser I. accords these two the

same title, VIII, 2, 3. Pudû-ilu, B. C. 1350, calls himself iššakku of Ašur, the equivalent of patesi. Adad-nirâri, his son, calls himself iššakku of Ašur in one inscription, and šangû šîru of Bêl on a stone tablet; he is in this inscription the son of Pudûilu the šaknu of Bêl, iššakku of Ašur; grandson of Bêl-nirâri the šangû of Ašur, great-grandson of Ašur-uballiṭ, whose šangûtu was glorious. Can this varied terminology mean that the chief priests of different divinities originally bore different titles, arising from the different rites prominent in the cults? Šangû is, up to this point, reserved for the servitor of Ašur or Ištar. Ašur-rêš-iši, 1140 B. C., is šangû of Ašur, and gives the same title to Mutakkil-Nusku and Ašurdân, his predecessors. Tiglathpileser I. claims the office. Ašurnâširpal, in his various inscriptions, is šangû of different gods; Ašur, Ištar, Bêl, Ninib, and Nergal. (See *AKA.*, pp. 182, 189, 198, 205, 209; *Annals* I, 25.) In K. 868 he is išipu nâ'du nibit Ninib. Evidently he has become "commander of the faithful" of all the more prominent cults. The Sargonids emphasize their šangûtu of Ištar. But Sargon himself, evidently a religious reactionary, revives the phraseology of Pudu-ilu 600 years before. In the Nimrud inscription he is šaknu of Bêl, iššakku of Ašur: he repeats this on numerous bricks. This is certainly irreconcilable with the theory that patesi or iššakku, when used by an Assyrian king, implies his subjection to Babylon. In some of these brick inscriptions we have his title more fully: šakan ^{ilu} Bêl, iššakki ^{ilu} Ašur šakkanak ^{ilu} Nabû u ^{ilu} Marduk. This supports the suggestion that the chief priests of certain gods may have had distinctive religious titles. The šakkanakku of Babylon would appear to have been the vicegerent of Nabû and Marduk.

We may wonder if these royal claims indicate functional activity, or mere honorary headship. We do not hear of an Assyrian king claiming for himself the honor of TU.bîti. He would think of himself as officiating at the altar instead of "keeping the charge of the house." But Neriglissar, placed on the throne by priestly intrigue, tells us that he is the son of Bêlšum-iškun, the wise prince, the perfect hero, nâšir maṣṣarti Êsaggil u TIN.TIR.KI. (Budge, *PSBA.*, 1888, cylinder; col. I, 11-13.) Is the king boasting of his descent from a TU.bîti? In Assyria, did the temple officials, who, in their letters, frequently used the phrase: "We keep the charge of the

king our lord,"⁹ think of the king as a šangû whom they assisted? Esarhaddon's favorite oracle, we know, was that of Ištar of Arbela, sometimes spoken of as Bêlit parši. He declares that Ištar of Arbela is a goddess, ra'imat šangûtia. In opening salutations Adadšumušur (and occasionally others) frequently writes, after greeting the king, a-na pi-kit-te ša Bêlit parši šul-mu a-dan-niš. Does he think of the king as the great šangû of Ištar, and therefore include in such salutations "those who kept the charge of the house" of Ištar? Questions like these are natural in connection with the subject, but answers just now would be premature.

Reference has been made to the efforts of various kings to guarantee the maintenance of certain temple officials by freeing certain lands or persons from royal taxation, the revenues being instead devoted to the temple service, and the produce of the lands going into the temple stores, when it was more than could be immediately consumed. The term zakku, "dedicate," secures this exemption from secular demands. The chronicler may be copying this scheme in 2 Chron. 31:13-19. Exemptions for sacred classes are specified in Ezra 7:24. But the records of such royal grants raise the question of heredity, the land so consecrated being sometimes spoken of as previously consecrated by a former king, and later reverting to the royal domain. An example may be cited in K. 4467, published by Johns, *ADD.*, I, 714. Meissner, *MVAG.*, 1903, III, p. 6 *sqq.*, collates it with K. 1989, and 83-1-18, 425, and Bu. 91-5-9, 193. Sargon narrates in this deed his restoration of land originally set aside by Adad-nirâri to supply the granaries of Ašur. Ninety-five imêru of land in the fields of the city of the TU.bîti, in the campus of Nineveh, are reconsecrated. The land is given in charge of the sons of former temple servitors. Fifteen imêru of ground are set aside for the rab akalê, "like the field of the city of the TU.bîti—with the field of the governor of Dûr-Šarrûkîn I counted it—fifteen I thus consecrated." This placing of the lands of the temple servitors upon the same footing as the land of the governor should be compared with Ezekiel's land system, 45:1-8, and endowed state offices in the Harran census.

Since the benefice is given to the descendants of former beneficiaries, and the TU.bîti are spoken of as though owning or

⁹ The frequency of the similar expression in the Old Testament should be noticed: Gen. 26:5; Exod. 6:13; Numb. 9:19; 27:23; 1 Chron. 9:27; 2 Chron. 8:14.

dwelling in a city, or definite territory, and since Akkullanu, in H. 43, speaking of a deposed priest, then dead, recommends his son for the vacancy, the fact of heredity in sacred offices, and the existence of Levitical cities, is clearly shown.¹⁰ In this connection we have some interesting matter. VA. 208 of the Berlin Museum (*KB. IV*, p. 94) is from the 22d year of Nabûpaliddin. In it Bêliddin, son of Nabû-zêr-iddin, the TU.bîti of ^{ilu}La-gamma-al and šaḫû of Dilbat deeds to his second son his right to the entrance fees of flesh of different kinds. In another document, much damaged, from the 20th year of Nabûpaliddin, we find Nabûpaliddin, son of Abuâ, grandson or Aḫar-Nabû, the TU.bîti, complaining that he has received but part of the land held by his fathers. His petition in the case is granted (*KB. IV*, p. 92). A very interesting case of transfer appears centuries later. It suggests that the hereditary line of temple wardens may have been threatened with extinction. A TU.bîti adopts a son, and transfers to him a right to 6 ḫa of food and 6 ḫa of drink, a fourth interest (zittu) in the flesh of offered oxen, and an interest in the table of the god (zitti paššûri). This document is dated in the first year of Barzia (VA. Th. 123, 124; *KB. IV*, p. 296). We should not infer that the entire TU.bît-u-tu is transferred by this document, for we have another, showing partial sale. It comes from Uruk, from the time of the Seleucidae, (*KB. IV* p. 313). The seller holds the TU.bît-u-tu of Bêl, or at least a one-sixth interest in it. He sells for one mina five shekels of silver "one-sixth of the day" upon the 16th, 17th, and 18th days, forever, with all right to the purchaser to do as the seller would have done, with the receipts of the "sixth of the day." As the document is dated the 27th of Nisan, and no month is named in connection with "the 16th, 17th, and 18th days," we may infer that those days of each month are implied. Comparing this with the announcement of Nabûšumiddin, already noticed, H. 65, K. 629 that the entrance fee upon the festal day will be one ḫa of food, we may perceive how very profitable the wardenship of a large temple might be. The document just cited is one of the earliest cases of simony or speculating in pew-rents on record. But though heredity in sacred offices is shown by the documents cited, they also show that it was subject to modifications, as in Palestine.

¹⁰This question of the city I discuss in "The Semitic City of Refuge," *Monist*, October 1905.

The above transfers of TU. bît-u-tu may be compared with transfers of other sacred offices. Thus, in the fourteenth year of Nabûna'id, 84-2-11, 61, *ABR.* II, p. 20, Nabûbalatsuikbi bequeaths to one son the "dagger-bearership" (GIR. LAL-u-tu) or position of official slaughterer in the temple of Ešarra, and to another son the income of the shrine of Papsukal in the temple of Bêlit-šamê-eršiti. In MAP. 41, we find in the days of Rim-Sim a suit involving the right to five days in the year in the temple of Nannar, sixteen in the temple of Bêlit, and eight in the shrine of Gula. In Bu. 91-5-9, 2175 A is discussed the right to act as šatammu, for six days in the month, in the temple of Šamaš. And such priestly offices could be held by women, or transferred to them: the "dagger-bearership" above mentioned Nabû-balatsuikbi states he had formerly assigned to his mother. We may conjecture that during her tenure of the benefice a hireling performed the work. Such rights to temple receipts on certain days may lie behind the rotation service of the Levites in the Chronicler's scheme.

THE ESARHADDON SUCCESSION.

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In the preceding index the term *mâr-šarru* was not included, as it was not considered to need special explanation. But a careful examination of the numerous occurrences of the term suggested important bearings upon a mooted historical question. Perhaps this Sargonid title had in the later period a significance which it did not have in the earlier. In its technical sense it is considered a compound noun. That it has such special or restricted sense when used incidentally or in formulae of salutation, must be conceded for the sake of intelligibility. To translate "Peace to the king my lord: peace to a son of the king," when the king has several sons, would be too indefinite. It must be that "the king's son" *κατ' ἐξοχην* (Johns, *ADD.* II, p. 182, "crown prince;" cf. Lehmann, *Šamaššumukîn* II, p. 108) is meant by *mâr-šarru* in such salutations.

In H. 3, K. 492, and H. 365, Bu. 91-5-9, 141, Adadšumušur mentions one *mâr-šarru*, without qualifying additions. Nabû-šumiddin, of the same period (*JEL.*, pp. 131, 153), writes in H. 65, K. 629 to the *mâr-šarru*. At a later time, in H. 66, K. 1017, he knows of two princes of such rank, with distinctive qualifying epithets. Nabûrabiāhê in H. 175, K. 614, writes to the *mâr-šarru* concerning the shortcomings of the Šidonians. This suggests Esarhaddon's reign. Išdî-Nabû, H. 187, K. 589, and H. 189, K. 1048, addresses letters to the *mâr-šarru*. He is probably to be assigned to the reign of Esarhaddon (cf. *JEL.*, p. 156). In H. 108, K. 519, Arad-Nānā, court-physician of Esarhaddon's time, writes in his salutations, *šulmu adanniš ana mâr-šarri*. Winckler's theory (*AOF.* II, p. 185) that Ašurmukīnpalē'a is meant here, because that prince is mentioned by name by Arad-Nānā in H. 109, K. 532, can hardly be accepted; the reason is insufficient. There is no evidence that Ašurmukīnpalē'a was ever crown prince. Winckler does not seem to recognize any technical sense for *mâr-šarru*, and the fact that it is specifically applied to two princes who are also called by name,

while the other sons of Esarhaddon are mentioned by name only. The niceties of Assyrian official etiquette must be given due consideration. In H. 430, Rm. 72, we have a brief letter written by a *mâr-šarru*. It does not seem to occur to him that any confusion would result. Surely no other son of the king could write as *mâr-šarru*. In H. 152, K. 1101 + K. 1221, Šarrunâ'id complains to the *mâr-šarru* that his property has been seized by one who is neither the king's agent nor the agent of the *mâr-šarru*. In H. 404, 81-2-4, 62 the welfare of the *mâr-šarru* and his brothers is prayed for; compare like expressions for Ašurbânipal and his brothers in H. 453, K. 948. In H. 614, K. 1152, some one is asserted to be called by Sin and Šamaš a-na *mâr-šarru-u-te* ^{mât} Aššûr.

A number of these citations belong indisputably to the reign of Esarhaddon. We have evidence, then, that for some time during that reign one son of the king, and but one, held the official rank of *mâr-šarru*.

Does *mâr-šarru*, or *mâr-šarru rabû*, as "crown prince," designate the eldest son of the king, as some translate (*e. g.* Johnston, *JAOS.* XX, p. 248; *cf. contra*, Lehmann, *Šamaššumukîn*, II, p. 108), or does *rabû* imply precedence rather than seniority? Sennacherib's name is suspected to refer to his being a younger son; yet Hunnî in H. 216, K. 1062, says, "Peace to Sennacherib, the *mar-šarru rabû*, peace to the *mârê šarri*." Meissner in *MVAG.*, 1904, pp. 181-84, and Johnston, *JAOS.* XXV, pp. 79 *sqq.*, discuss H. 870, 82-5-22, 107. That letter, as they recognize, shows that Šamaššumukîn, not Ašurbânipal, was the eldest living son of Esarhaddon, it being agreed that these two princes are referred to. Yet Šamaššumukîn, we shall see, was not *mâr-šarru rabû*. The seniority of Šamaššumukîn is also suggested by a boundary-stone inscription dating from the reign of Šamaššumukîn, published by Winckler, *AOF.* I, pp. 498 *sqq.* The broken beginning speaks of *mâru rêštu ša Ašur-aḫ-iddin šarru dannu šar kiššati šar* ^{mât} Aššûr, *šar kâl šarrâni šakkanak TIN. TIR.ki šar lâ šanân aḫû talimu ša Ašur-bâni-apli šar kiššati šar* ^{mât} Aššûr. The name of Šamaššumukîn as the king referred to occurs two or three times in the body of the inscription. With the seniority of Šamaššumukîn declared, we must probably regard *talimu* as signifying equality in rank instead of age.

The courtly letter above cited protests against a proposed division of authority. Some one speaks in behalf of the designated prince of Aššūr against the proposal to place the eldest son upon the throne of Babylon. The style suggests Adadšumu-ur; and this may find support in H. 594, K. 1118 (not quite understood, I think, by Behrens, *ABB.*, p. 25). This latter letter shows that the king is angry at some reported remark of the old courtier upon the proposed relative standing of the mār-šarru and Šamašsumukīn, and orders a ban upon him. This letter settles, it would seem, which son of Esarhaddon was sole mār-šarru for a time, as suggested by the first paragraph of this discussion. It was not Šamašsumukīn, as Winckler conjectures, *AOF.* I, 415 *sqq.*, quoted by Johnston, *JAOS.*, 1904, p. 81, where he adds, "If Šamašsumukīn were the eldest son of Esarhaddon, he would be the natural heir to the throne." But letters like H. 24, H. 439, H. 594, H. 740, mention one son of Esarhaddon as a mār-šarru, and another as merely Šamašsumukīn. The conjectures mentioned then fall to the ground. Yet Winckler may be correct in connecting the disturbances in the last year of Esarhaddon's reign with the arrangement for the succession. That Šamašsumukīn's dignity was an afterthought, growing out of the Babylonian problem, seems then to be the fact. That Ašurbānīpal was originally sole mār-šarru has several other supports. In I.R., IV, 85, we have a tablet stating that a certain palace was built kirib ^{alu} Tarbiši ana mûšab Ašurbānīpal mār-šarru ša bīt-ridūti. Remembering that the great assembly in the month Iyyar, proclaiming the co-ordinate princes, was held upon the eve of Esarhaddon's last expedition to Egypt, and that he died upon the road, it is extremely improbable that any palaces were planned or built in that brief interim. Had such been built, at that late period of his reign, Assyrian royal idiosyncrasies would lead us to expect Ašurbānīpal's claiming to be the builder. This palace for the "crown prince" must belong to an earlier period, when Šamašsumukīn was not yet designated as a mār-šarru. Ašurbānīpal is also called "the son of my heart," or favorite son, in this inscription.

But how shall we understand Knudtzon 107, in which Esarhaddon inquires concerning the installation of Siniddinapal as crown prince? As we do not hear of him elsewhere, Knudtzon's

supposition is most plausible, that Siniddinapal, Esarhaddon's first choice for successor, soon died, and the honor was then bestowed upon Ašurbānīpal. This may be supported by the fact that in Kn. 66, 67, Ašurbānīpal is merely "son of Esarhaddon king of Assyria;" in all other cases in which he is associated with Esarhaddon in these oracles, he is *mâr-šarru ša bīt ridūti*. He did not have this honor from the very beginning.

Comparing H. 594, K. 1118, H. 117, K. 999, H. 118, K. 1026, H. 656, 82-5-22, 168, and H. 34, K. 981, we find protests from Adadšumušur and his friends that he did not say what he has been charged with saying. Notice especially the third and fourth. We observe in these also an effective reconciliation, and assurances that Adadšumušur and Arad-Gula will officiate, will share in the *ḫannu* ceremony(?) (*ḫa-an-ni a-ḫi-iš ni-za-az*), and that they will support the proposed régime. (Does this word *ḫannu* in these letters mean "installation" or "ordination," from which "jurisdiction" or "province," an apparent meaning in other passages, may well be derivative? Compare H. 409, Rm. 2, 2, obv. 10: *amēl bēl paḫati ša ḫa-ni māṭ U-ka-a-a: ḫē-pāni ša ḫa-ni*, Knudtzon 107, obv. 4: *ḫēpāni ša ḫa-an-ni*, Kn. 109, obv. 7: *rab alāni ša ḫa-ni*, H. 252, K. 525, obv. 8: and a letter of Ištāršumēreš on this subject, H. 670, K. 12, rev. 7, *a-na ḫa-an-ni lu še-ši-u: rev. 9, ki-ma šarri a-na ḫa-an-ni il-tu-ši*. Perhaps derivative from *ḫanū*, "reed." So SAS., *Abp.*, III, p. 30. In various bas-reliefs we may see the king handing a reed to some one as token of a commission.¹

The 22d of Tišrit may have been a day by which the nobles should recognize the proposed arrangements for the succession. References to *ûm XXII kam u ûmu anniu* recur in the letters cited above. In H. 740, 83-1-18, 26 Ikkaru greets the king; upon the reverse he adds a hearty greeting to Šamašsumukīn, and also refers to that 22d day. In H. 34, K. 981, Ištāršumēreš, a close friend of Adadšumušur, says, "My lord the king, from his heart he did not speak about it." It may be that he refers to the above-mentioned charge against his friend.

With Ašurbānīpal already generally known as a *mâr-šarru* and Šamašsumukīn announced for the like dignity, we have some interesting correspondence, possibly upon the solemn preparations for the great occasion. H. 24, K. 626 gives directions for

¹ See also Johns, *ADD.* II, p. 124, and further discussion in connection with the *šalšu*.

certain ceremonies for averting evil from the *mâr-šarru* and *Šamašsumukîn*, it would seem; while H. 23, K. 602 tells of prayers and ceremonies carefully performed, of purifications and propitiations already complete, on behalf of the *mâr-šarru*, and the *mâr-šarru* of Babylon. *Šamašsumukîn* has now his new title, it appears. *Marduksâkinšum*, the author of these two letters, also mentions the *mâr-šarru*, *Arad-Gula*, *Nabûšumiddin*, *Nabûmudûti*, and the observances for the month *Ab*, in H. 17, K. 472, H. 18, K. 490. These all are mentioned in the preceding letters cited, and these two fragments may then deal with the same matters. Possibly H. 25, K. 639 does also.

Other letters refer to the status of the two brothers. In H. 434, Bu. 89-4-26, 163, *Ašurukîn* salutes the king, the *mâr-šarru* of *Aššûr*, and the *mâr-šarru* of Babylon. In rev. 22 he speaks of some one suspected of conspiracy, brought before the *mâr-šarru* for examination. The *mâr-šarru* evidently had some executive pre-eminence over the *mâr-šarru* of Babylon. The broken H. 439, K. 432, 7 ff. greets *Šamašsumukîn*, and refers to ceremonies performed before *Ninkigal* for the *mâr-šarru*, but not as yet for *Šamašsumukîn*. In H. 654, 82-5-22, 103 *Adadšumušur* addresses the *mâr-šarru rabû*, calling him also *mâr-šar kiššat mâtâti*, and *mâr-šar mâtâti* three times. The old courtier certainly suggests that there is now more than one *mâr-šarru*, as contrasted with the state of affairs at the time he wrote H. 3 and H. 365; he is explicit as to the one now addressed. Even more interesting is his misplaced adjective, added as an afterthought in H. 10, K. 641: . . . a-na *mâr-šar* ^{mât} *Aš-šur rabê bêli'a*. One would suppose the necessity for the distinction was new. In H. 658, 83-1-18, 81, he writes concerning the sickness of *Ašûr-etil-šamê-iršiti-uballišsu*, and mentions also the *mâr-šarru ša kutalli*—a variation of *mâr-šarru ša bit-ridûti*. The sick prince, like *Ašurmukînpalê'a*, previously mentioned, has no title, though a son of the king. The titled prince, we have already seen, is *Ašurbânipal*, in the opinion of *Adadšumušur*.

We may refer here to letters like HH. 33, 202, 384, 386, concerning the taking of the *adê* by officials and various towns. As they come to some extent from this same group of writers, and as *Ašurbânipal* declares solemn oaths were taken before his father's death, there is ground for believing that these letters may be con-

nected with the great event discussed. The data so far presented give a very consistent story of the plan for the succession. The months named and the events, compel us to place the publication of the king's later intentions at least as early as the year preceding the great assembly in the month Iyyar. We evidently have not a complete statement from Ašurbânipal as to the object of that assembly. The nobles killed with the sword in the last year of Esarhaddon may have been those who refused to recognize the new honors of Šamaššumukîn.

That the mention of a mâr-šarru and a mâr-šarru of Babylon is not intended to include all Esarhaddon's family we know from the mention of untitled members, already noticed. We may add Arad-Nabû's letter, H. 113, K. 501, which on the reverse speaks of ⁶niķē ša Ašurbâni-apli mâr-šarru rabu-u, ⁷ša Šamaššumukîn mâr-šar Bâbili ⁸ša Šêrû'a-êterat ⁹ša Ašur-mukîn-palê-ia, ¹⁰ša Šar-šamê-iršiti-uballiṣu. Šamašmîtuballiṣ is not mentioned, unless we could prove that the last prince in the letter is he. This I think improbable, but the name of the last prince is certainly the same as Ašur-etil-šamê-iršiti-uballiṣu, already mentioned. The view of Johns, *ABLCCL.*, p. 375, that the list gives the order of seniority in Esarhaddon's family cannot be maintained. We have seen that Ašurbânipal, called in this letter the mâr-šarru rabû, was not the eldest son. Winckler's theory, *AOF.* II, p. 183, that the last prince in this letter is Esarhaddon himself, is very curious. It would require us to believe that the punctilious Arad-Nabû disregarded here in a letter to the king the precedence due to him; the first law of official etiquette. Quite as curious is his theory that Ašur-etil-ilâni-ukînnî in H. 870 is also Esarhaddon. A princess named Šêrû'a-êterat occurs in each; that is the only proof offered. He does not try to prove the two princesses to be one and the same save by the other assumption.

Perhaps the problem of precedence occurred to Winckler, and produced his theory of a semi-abdication on the part of Esarhaddon, wherein the king retained the title šar-kiššati and made Ašurbânipal šar Aššûr. Neither bears such title in the letters just discussed; and we have seen that the varied official correspondence does not call Ašurbânipal the šar Aššûr after the great ceremony, but the mâr-šarru rabû. We would also have Šêrû'a-êterat and Ašur-mukîn-palê-ia taking precedence of

Winckler's theoretical šar kiššati in the letter that troubles him. Winckler, *AOF.* II, p. 186, bases his theory upon a letter of Nabûnadinšum, H. 54, K. 476, to the mârât-šarri, in which the king is called šar kiššati bêli'a. No proof is offered that the letter is written to Esarhaddon's daughter. Even if it were, Winckler would have to prove that it was written in the last weeks of Esarhaddon's reign, and his theory would still be unestablished. For we should ask if the usage of the term šar kiššati in the letters supports the limited construction Winckler would here put upon it.

The TIK.EN.NA in H. 542, K. 114 addresses Sargon as šar kiššati bêli'a. Would Winckler say Sargon was no longer king of Aššûr? Ašurbânipal is addressed as šar mâtâti in H. 266, K. 78, and H. 269, K. 528, though he had a colleague at Babylon. Aplâ, writing to the queen mother, in H. 324, K. 523, calls the king šar mâtâti. Bêlibnî prefers bêl šarrâni bêli'a. Aplâ, in H. 326, K. 1249, uses both šar kiššati and šar mâtâti; evidently of Esarhaddon. Kudurru prefers šar mâtâti. Adadšumušur varies; he uses šarru bêl mâtâti in H. 5, K. 583. Nabû-ukin, H. 750, 83-1-18 280, says ana šar šarrâni. Marduk, H. 808, Bu., 91-5-9, 113, uses šar mâtâti and bêl šarrâni. These are amply illustrative. A subject must recognize the king as a king, and as his lord; additional *epitheta ornantia* aim at broad compliment, not at precision. The semi-abdication of Esarhaddon and a territorial division of authority is not supported by the single šar kiššati from which Winckler derives it.

Nor can we accept Winckler's theory that aḥu rabû was used to designate a brother whom the king had chosen as his successor. In *AOF.* II, p. 185, he advances such a theory with regard to the two sons of Esarhaddon, mentioned in L³ 12, 13, and refers to K. 581; but K. 581 as published by Harper, 331, contains no reference to the matter. Ašurbânipal's statement in L³ 12, 13, is that he "shaved" (see TU.bitu excursus, p. 45) Ašur-etil-šamê-iršiti-uballit-su as the urigallu of Sin at Ḥarran, Ašur-mukîn-palê-ia as urigallu at (Ašur?) cf. Sargon cyl. 5, 6, and *HWB.*, p. 129, and "*The Semitic City of Refuge*," *Monist*, October, 1905. Johns *ABLCL.*, p. 366, places him at Ḥarran, perhaps a confusion with his brother; he does not give the document for the statement. These two princes, frequently named in the letters, are not accorded any title in them. Winckler, for the sake of variation,

abandons urigallu in the cited passage (*cf.* Brünnow 6452, and *HWB.*) for aḫu rabû, though the two princes are respectively called aḫu kuddinnu, and aḫu šihru in the same lines. Šamašsumukîn applies the same terms to them (*cf.* Lehmann, *Šamašsumukîn* p. 30). H. 370, 81-2-4, 49, may refer to this elevation to the rank of "Great Protector." There does not seem to me any real support for the theory that an aḫu rabû might be an alternative for a mâr-šarru rabû. To Winckler's interpretation is the further objection that it makes Ašurbânipal plan a divided authority to succeed himself after he had himself objected to such a measure. Moreover, we would conclude there was despair of direct succession, and that this record was late in the reign of Ašurbânipal. The evidence does not support either conclusion.

The actual order of events in bringing Šamašsumukîn to regal dignity and possible co-equality with Ašurbânipal seems fairly established as against theories hitherto offered (also *contra* Hommel, *DB.*, p. 169). What were the intentions of Esarhaddon with regard to the exact extent of the authority of each?² Some light may be gained by further consideration of the requirements of oriental diplomatic etiquette.

Taking up the Tel-el-Amarna letters in the British Museum, as published by Bezold, we find No. 1 beginning "To Kallimma-Sin, king of Karaduniaš, my brother, thus saith Amenophis, the great King, king of Egypt, thy brother." No. 2 begins, "To Nibmuaria, king of Egypt . . . thus saith Burraburiaš, king of Karaduniaš, thy brother." Nos. 5, 6, 7, "To the king of Egypt, his brother, thus says the king of Alašiya, his brother." No. 8 is especially to the point: "To Nimmuaria, the great king, king of Egypt, my brother, my son-in-law, who loveth me, whom I love, thus saith Tušratta, the great king, thy father-in-law, who loveth thee, the king of Mitanni, thy brother." Nos. 9, 10, 11, show like forms of address.

Delattre, *PSBA.*, 1891, 539 ff., treats some of the Berlin collection of Tel-el-Amarna letters, as published by Winckler. In

²Tiele, *Bab. Assyrr. Gesch.*, pp. 351, 369, 371, makes Ašurbânipal a viceroy, about 671 B. C. Hommel, *Gesch. Bab. und Assyrr.*, p. 694, takes the same view, but dates the event 669 B. C. E. Meyer, *Geschichte Alterthums*, I, p. 447, makes Šamašsumukîn and Ašurbânipal to be crowned almost simultaneously, both owing their elevation to their father. Lehmann, *Šamašsumukîn*, pp. 33, *sqq.*, holds a similar view; *cf.* Maspero, *Passing of Empires*, p. 381. Knudtzon, *Gebete an den Sonnen Gott*, p. 220, does not believe Esarhaddon ever thought of setting Ašurbânipal aside for Šamašsumukîn.

No. 18, the king of the Hittites addresses the king of Egypt six times as "my brother." In No. 32, Tušratta, king of Mitanni, uses the term "my brother" thirty-two times of the king of Egypt. The king of Alašiya uses the appellation twenty-five times of the king of Egypt. The Aziru letters are published by Delattre, *PSBA.*, 1891, pp. 215 ff. Letter No. 11 begins "'ana Dûdu bêli'a abi'a ²umma Azîru mâruka arduka ³ana šêpi abi'a amkut." So also No. 38. Compare in O. T., Gen. **32**, 17, 18; **33**, 5, 8, 9, 13, 14; 1 Kings, **9**, 13; 2 Kings **16**, 7. Particularly interesting is the way in which the king of Israel was tricked out of the fruits of his victory over Syria by the quick-witted Syrians' claiming the acknowledgment of their king as a "brother" instead of a "servant," or "son." So also two suppliants in *LIH.* 48 speak of the governor as "our father."

The examples show that diplomatic correspondence required the acknowledgment of equality or independence where it existed. Equal precision was to be used in defining the reverse relations. "Brother" or "sister," in such correspondence, implies something like "peer." Where family relationships existed, these were specified; the relative rank was still carefully defined, as in the Tušratta letters. "Father" in such addresses might mean acknowledgment of subjection; it might be mere compliment, as in Joash's address to the dying Elisha.³

Looking now to Assyria, we observe the same usage. Esarhaddon (G. Smith, p. 24) writes to Urtaku, king of Elam: "Peace be to Urtaku, king of Elam, my brother." K. 359 (*SAS.*, *Abp.*, II, p. 51) begins, "Letter of Ummanaldaš, king of Elam, to Ašurbânipal, king of Aššûr. Peace be to my brother."

Considering family relationships, we may remember that Sennacherib was mâr-šarru rabû; yet when conducting important operations in the North, in his letters to the king his father he emphasizes his own inferior rank, beginning always: "To the king, my lord, thy servant Sennacherib." See HH. 196-199; 568. Šamašmîṭuballiṭ, we have seen, was a younger son of Esarhaddon. His letters to the king are then to his father or his brother. We have two, H. 341, 82-5-22, 174; H. 766, K. 475; each beginning, "To the king, my lord, thy servant,

³This fact invalidates the theory of Tiele and Lehmann that Ašurbânipal might have been king of Aššûr in the lifetime of Esarhaddon. It is based upon the fragmentary K. 2641, in which a king of Aššûr addresses the king of Babylon as "my father." See Lehmann, *Šamašumukin*, p. 36; Tiele, pp. 330, 352, 370.

Šamašmītūballiṭ. Peace to the king, my lord." The requirements of etiquette in Assyria seem the same as those noted elsewhere. One should not address the king as "my brother" unless he were the peer of the king.

We have letters from Šamašsumukīn. In H. 426, 80-7-19, 17; he calls the king "my brother" six times; he does not call him "my lord." He himself is king of Babylon at the time. The broken H. 809, K. 5483, is from him; the king is twice called "my brother." The boundary stone already cited *AOF.*, I, 498 *sqq.*, makes Šamašsumukīn speak of Ašurbānīpal as aḫu talīmu, "brother of equal rank." It seems clear that he did not recognize the over-lordship of Ašurbānīpal in these documents. How then shall we understand his three short letters, HH. 534-536, beginning: "To the king, my lord, thy servant, Šamašsumukīn"? It is fair to consider them addressed to Esarhaddon.

Does Ašurbānīpal recognize the equal rank of Šamašsumukīn? We know he calls the latter "aḫu talīmu." We have no letters from him to Šamašsumukīn in the *HABL.* vols. H. 870, 82-5-22, 107, already mentioned, Johnston considers inspired by him. In view of the unwillingness to concede division of authority therein shown, any incidental concessions of fact should be accounted of much significance. His effort in several inscriptions to make himself the source of his brother's authority must be qualified by such incidental concessions, and by the data given in the preceding pages.

Johns, in "The Chronology of Ašurbānīpal's Reign," *PSBA.*, 1905, p. 94, favors the contention of Ašurbānīpal. "If Esarhaddon had set his son upon the throne of Babylon, Šamašsumukīn must have reigned both in B. C. 669 and 648, and would thus have reigned 22 years. If Esarhaddon did not set him upon the throne, no one but Ašurbānīpal could do it. There was no organized native power to elect him."

The contention is not sound. The argument to exclude B. C. 669 from Šamašsumukīn's reign would exclude it from Ašurbānīpal's also. Probably this should be conceded. The data already examined seem to show that Esarhaddon's plans were for the simultaneous accession of his two sons after his own death. What organized native power could then put Ašurbānīpal on the throne?

Johns, *ADD.* 477, K. 448, has among the witnesses officers of the *mâr-šarru* and the *mâr-šar Bâbili*. The document is dated in Nisan. If the general view be correct, that the great assembly in Iyyar consummated Esarhaddon's arrangements for the succession; if this assembly be contemplated in the preparations we have referred to in the letters, the above document must be dated in the following Nisan; for in the preceding one Šamašsumukîn would have been but a prospective *mâr-šar Bâbili*. Letters cited name Ašurbânipal as already a *mâr-šarru*, and greet Šamašsumukîn by name only, seemingly pending his elevation. It would seem, then, that in the Nisan following Esarhaddon's death each prince may have been but a *mâr-šarru* of the empire, and that Šamašsumukîn's actual regal dignity must have begun simultaneously with that of his brother.

Johns notices the proclamation, 83-1-18, 45, issued by Zakûtû, the mother of Esarhaddon, Ašurbânipal, Šamašsumukîn, and Šamašmîṭuballîṭ. It declares Ašurbânipal to be the rightful king of Aššûr. Is not Zakûtû, possible queen regent, a "native power" to be reckoned with? And where is the companion document? After the solemn declaration a few months before, would Šamašsumukîn have joined in this proclamation unless another had simultaneously announced his own position? Again, why the emphatic appeal to religion, to ceremonies, oracles, and portents in the preparations of Esarhaddon, when Ašurbânipal had for some time previously been known as *mâr-šarru*? Clearly, Ašurbânipal's statement about the great assembly in Iyyar is only a half truth, if viewed as coming from a historian of the times, but a whole truth, if Ašurbânipal is only writing personal history; and that is what Assyrian kings really do. It would seem that we must believe that the same solemn oaths that bound the nobles to protect the *mâr-šarrûtu* of Ašurbânipal, and afterward his kingship of Aššûr, bound them and him to similar obligations in the case of Šamašsumukîn and the two younger brothers. Here is a force Johns does not fully recognize. Ašurbânipal, in *L*³, 10, acknowledges that he was bound in this matter by an oath that might not be broken; in *VR.* III, 77, he also acknowledges his father's command. Maspero (*Passing of Empires*, p. 381) recognizes the power of oaths and oracles. But for his statement that Ašurbânipal proclaimed himself King of Assyria at the same time

that Šamašsumukîn proclaimed himself King of Babylon no proof is given.

Johns' contention that Šamašsumukîn's first regnal year could not be co-incident with Ašurbânipal's (so also Hommel, *DB.*, p. 169) because Bêl-Marduk was captive in Assyria, and the Babylonian king could not there take the hands of Bêl, will not stand. Knudtzon, No. 149, specifically asks "Let Šamašsumukîn take the hands of Bêl" in Aššûr; the very thing Johns and Maspero (*Passing of Empires*, p. 381) think improbable. In citing this document both curiously overlook this precativè. In the boundary stone already cited, *AOF.* I, 498, the return of Bêl-Marduk is placed in the reign of Šamašsumukîn. The writer of that document certainly thought the accession of the king antedated the return of Bêl. The Babylonian Chronicle, IV, 35, 36, says, šattu rēš Šamašsumukîn ina araḥ Aarû^{ilu} Bêl u ilâni ša^{mât} Akkâdi ultu^{alu} Aššûr ûṣûnimma ina araḥ Aarû ûm XI^{kam} ana Bâbili êrubûni. Šamašsumukîn in Stele S¹ and Cyl. L, 15-17, makes like statements. With these Babylonian claims compare Ašurbânipal's assertion in S³, 36-48, that the return of Bêl occurred in his reign. In L⁴, II, 26-33, he places it in the very beginning of his reign. He claims Marduk returned at his tearful entreaty. Five lines of prayer to the god are followed by two lines concerning Šamašsumukîn's taking the hands of Bêl; then follow 18 lines vividly portraying the triumphal procession to Babylon. The Assyrian records corroborate the Babylonian. The argument of Johns that Šamašsumukîn's reign must have commenced a year later than his brother's does not seem established. The documents cited apparently indicate simultaneous accession of the brothers, the hands of Bêl being taken in Assyria in accordance with Šamašsumukîn's entreaty to Šamaš (see below). The brothers must have acted in concert in the matter of the return of Bêl; each telling of his own connection with the matter, in the respective inscriptions, and each adding a reference to aḥi'a talîmi'a.

Johns, in citing Knudtzon, No. 149, says: "Ašurbânipal, *already king of Assyria*," in the month Nisan inquires if Šamašsumukîn shall take the hands of Bêl that year. Consequently, Šamašsumukîn could not have become king in the Iyyar in which his brother did. But Ašurbânipal is not mentioned in this document! Neither is the reigning king of Assyria! The inquiry

may have come from the same "committee" that announced Ašurbânipal as the legitimate successor in Aššûr. But if the usual forms of presenting an inquiry be a safe criterion, we should infer that this inquiry is from Šamaššumukîn himself, if we agree that No. 147 is from Ašurbânipal. Each is presented in the normal form: the third person. In Šamaššumukîn's supplication the verbs in the opening sentences are precativ; lišbat, lillik; the following verbs are interrogative; will it be done? It should be noticed that not all of these "Gebete" are from the kings. In Kn. 143, 144, we hear of Ašurbânipal as mâr-šarru ša bit ridûti; in other later ones he is šar Aššûr. Maspero (*Passing of Empires*, p. 381) also overlooks the form of the above-mentioned inquiry of Šamaš, assuming that it was from Ašurbânipal. His statement that the reply was not favorable is mere conjecture; and the statement that Bêl had to be sent to Babylon before Šamaššumukîn could take his hands disregards the above order of events as narrated by Ašurbânipal.

Adding the evidence of the building inscriptions, we find in L⁵ and S¹, Šamaššumukîn boasts of the restoration of Êsagila and Êzida, and the re-establishment of the sacrifices. In S³, L², Ašurbânipal claims the credit. Each names his aḫu talîmu in his own inscriptions, and each invokes a curse upon him who shall erase the two names. The statements are in perfect harmony when we remember that an oriental king names the creditable actions in which he participated without stating precisely the part taken by others therein. The two brothers apparently begin their joint reign harmoniously as equals.

The royal titles outside the RFHarper letters give a little light. Šamaššumukîn, in S¹ and L⁵, and AOF. I, 498, does not accord to his brother the exalted titles given in the same document to Esarhaddon. His own title indicates territorial jurisdiction, as though he were sole authority in Šumer and Akkad. Ašurbânipal, in S³, revels in all the old titles: šarru rabû, šarru dannu, šar kiššati, šar Aššûr, šar kibrât irbitti, šar šarrâni, rûbû lâ šanân. He rules from the lower sea to the upper sea, and has subdued all princes beneath his feet. In L² is the same. But he has waged no campaign; the inscriptions belong to the very beginning of his reign, to the time of the return of Bêl; compare the parallel L⁴, IV, I, ina ûmêšuma. The extravagant exordium is merely his indulging in a little idio-

matic Assyrian upon the first occasion that offered, though rūbû lâ šanân might conflict with his brother's claims.

But years later, in the Rassam cylinder, we find him going back to mâr-šarru rabû ša bit-ridûti. Is there a sentiment in the empire against his assumption of old regal dignities? Has the title invented by Esarhaddon, and placed upon the palace at Tarbiši, come to have a peculiar force? While each brother was šarru of a territory, was each thought of as only a mâr-šarru of the empire? May we compare the Eastern and Western Cæsars and Augusti of the twin-capitalled Roman Empire? In the course of the royal annals, Ašurbânipal does not employ the old regal titles until the building appendix is reached (X, 57, 58). K. 2867 (SAS. *Abp.* II, I) uses the same phraseology. This and the Nebo and Bêlit inscriptions, II R, 66, celebrate the overthrow of Elam. The two latter call him only šar Aššûr. So do K. 1523 and K. 2652; K. 2674 does so five times. In line 12 it has the boast šar Êlamti. In 69 recur the old regal titles. The colophons of texts in his library usually read: "šar kiššati šar Aššûr." Perhaps we should not make much of this current abandonment of full old regal titles. As "Crown Prince of the Executive Mansion" he would like to have us think his brother merely his deputy; notice the phraseology in S³, 50-55, L², 11-12, and L³.

We have seen the brothers' references to each other. How did the Babylonians regard them? Did they consider their king as their own, independent, or as one of two co-ordinate overlords? In K. 233, and in H. 702, 81-2-4, 77⁴ the Babylonians bring complaints before the king. The second letter shows the king is Šamašsumukîn. The phraseology of direct address throughout, however, is "The kings our lords." Clearly the one king before whom the complaint is laid is the local representative of two co-ordinate rulers, always joined in one phrase.

With this Babylonian view contrast the Assyrian. The division was not universally acceptable to them; this must qualify our estimate of their expressions. Kudurru, governor of Erech, H. 754, K. 5457, reports to Ašurbânipal. The king of Babylon is for him merely Šamašsumukîn. Marduk, in H. 807, Bu. 91-5-9, 90, does likewise. H. 437, K. 168 does the same. We cannot argue from these data with any certainty. Assyrian officers would not be

⁴ See "The Semitic City of Refuge" in *The Monist*, October, 1905.

anxious to recognize a king of Babylon, and Ašurbânipal, considering himself the executive officer of the co-partnership, might not be inclined to rebuke such breaches of official etiquette, if breaches they were. But there does not seem to have been personal bitterness between the brothers at first. The policy to which they were sworn was distasteful, but that was all. The numerous votive tablets concerning the conquest of Elam contrast curiously with the reticence upon the subject of the overthrow of Šamaššumukîn.

The qualifying phrase, *bît-ridûti*, or *bît-kutalli*, may be noticed. Its meaning is not precisely determined. The great pre-Sargonid kings boast of their building operations, but the royal habitation is put before us as "a stately pleasure house." Sterner necessities, arsenals and armories, are not emphasized. But Sennacherib, Taylor prism VI, 28 *sqq.*, tells of rebuilding a great arsenal, or armory, an *êkal kutalli*. As it was too small, he tore it down, and rebuilt it on a new site, *ana šutêšûr šalmât kaḫḫâdê*, the storing of war munitions, and "my royal abode."

Esarhaddon, Cyl. A, IV, 49 *sqq.*, rebuilds this *êkallu maḫirte*, emphasizing its use as an arsenal, VI, 46 *sqq.*, and as a royal abode, V, 29.

Ašurbânipal calls the great structure built by Sennacherib a *bît-ridûti*, VR. X, 51 *sqq.* It was built by Sennacherib as his royal abode; thus Ašurbânipal corroborates his grandfather's statement. In I, 27, we observe that Esarhaddon was born there; in X, 59, that Ašurbânipal was also. The latter remodels the structure in his turn, calling it still *bît-ridûti* and emphasizing its military aspects; in I, 34 he mentions his own military training, acquired within its precincts. It is the *markas šarrûti*, in I, 24, "the bond of the empire"—its very life. In L⁴, II, 4, *bît-ridûti* is *ašar milki u ṭême*, "the place of consultation and news." Two lines further, the *ḫanni* ceremony (?) took place within it. Compare the Rassam cylinder, I, 23, where it is *bît-ridûti*, as against *êkallu* in the L⁴ passage.

All of the emphasis of the Sargonids is upon the administrative purposes of *bît-ridûti*. Successive enlargements of this group of government buildings are to meet the administrative necessities. "Harem" and "government building" are equally plausible from the etymological standpoint. Choice between them

should then depend upon the evidence as to the purpose of, or the ideas associated with, the structure. We may notice Sargonid usage also in Esarhaddon, B, II, 24: *mât tâmtim ana siḫirtiša ridût aḫiṣu uṣadgil panuṣṣu*. "Harem" is not possible here. We may question if Esarhaddon's great dedicatory feast or the solemn proclamation-assembly in Iyyar would be held in a harem. Further, Šamašsumukīn was as much a son of Esarhaddon's "harem" as Ašurbānīpal was; yet the title *mâr-šarru rabû ša bīt-ridûti*, *mâr-šarru ša bīt-ridûti*, or *mâr-šarru ša kutalli*, belongs only to the latter. We may suggest "Executive Mansion" as an approximate translation; and we can understand that, if Ašurbānīpal could not claim to be "king of all kings, king without a rival," as Esarhaddon was, he would at least emphasize the fact that he was war-lord of the empire, controlling the great central arsenal; that he was "Crown Prince of the Executive Mansion."⁵

It appears, then, that *mâr-šarru*, or *mâr-šarru rabû*, meant for the Sargonids the designated successor, as contrasted with other sons of the king. With the later Sargonids, *mâr-šarru ša bīt ridûti*, or *kutalli*, distinguished the ruler at the northern capital from his confrère at the southern. Only Nineveh has a *bīt ridûti*. We have compared the two *mâr-šarru* titles to the Augustus and Cæsar dignities of the later Roman empire; and we have on record a dispute between two court ladies about precedence which might support the view that, so far as the entire empire was concerned, Ašurbānīpal was held to be legitimately only a *mâr-šarru ša bīt ridûti*; that his later claim upon the old titles was regarded by some as usurpation, or disregard of his oath. For some discussion of this letter H. 308, K. 1619*b*, see Johnston, *JAOS.*, 1899, pp. 244 *sqq.*

"Message of the Princess to Ašur-šarrat: Thou dost not properly address thy letter to me, nor dost thou mention thine own title. Will not people say, This lady is the peer of Šērû'a-ēterat, the Princess Royal, daughter of Ašur-etil-ilāni-ukīnni, the great king, the mighty king, the universal king, the king of Assyria? And thou art only the daughter of the daughter-in-law of the wife of Ašurbānīpal, the Crown Prince of the Executive Mansion, son of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria."

⁵ Delitzsch connects *kutallu* with Hebrew כְּתָל, Arabic كَنْتَل. Shall we understand it as referring to the concentration of military stores? Did the city Ku-ta-al-la^{k i} in *LIIH.* 47. derive its name from its being an arsenal city?

Šērû'a-êterat claims for herself the title she concedes Ašur-bânipal. Ašur-etil-ilâni we know was succeeded by his brother. Had he really designated his daughter as his successor? We may recall the prestige of Šammurâmit, the Semiramis of the Greeks; Esarhaddon's appointment of Tabûa, a lady brought up at his court, as ruler of an Arabian kingdom (cyl. A. III, 13 *sqq.*); and the frequent occurrence of šakintu, or lady šaknu, in the contract literature. Compare also "the year when the king raised Nikis-midašu, the daughter of the king, to rulership over Marḥaši" (Radau, *EBH.* 257; Scheil, *Rec. Trav.*, XIX, 55). On *EBH.*, p. 186, Radau translates a tablet of a princess "a glorious one," who makes a votive offering of a mace for the welfare of her father.

The term mâr-šarru occurs in two or three other places in the Sargonid letters. In H. 466, S. 51, we hear of mâr-šar^{mât} An-di-a-a. In H. 633, K. 1366, obv. 16, we have ardâni ša zinnisat êkal mâr-šarri. The former is irrelevant to our inquiry; the latter, in a badly broken letter, affords no information.

What were the motives for Esarhaddon's policy? It has been thought that he was predisposed in Babylon's favor, or Šamašsumukîn's, and that a modification of his first plans in their favor was forced at the last. So Winckler, *AOF.* I, p. 415. The data we have reviewed render this supposed order of events improbable; further, a disturbance powerful enough to force Šamašsumukîn out of the destined kingship of Aššûr might well have forced him out of all authority whatsoever. We may revert to the tremendous religious influences brought to bear by Esarhaddon. The problem of sacred asylum cities was a serious one for the Assyrian kings.⁶ We know of their alternate revocation and restoration of sacred privileges; their consecration and confiscation of temple lands. We hear of Sargon, probably an usurper, coming to the front with a restoration of the sacred privileges of Ḥarran and Aššûr (cyl. 5 and 6), which had been set aside by Šalmaneser IV. Babylon was but one item in a great problem; and we must add to the elevation of Šamašsumukîn to the kingship of Karduniaš, Ašurbânipal's statement L³, 12, 13, that two other brothers were placed at the head of two great sacred cities. Probably we should consider this done at the

⁶ See article, "The Semitic City of Refuge," *The Monist*, October, 1905.

command of Esarhaddon, for the preceding statement about the oath exacted by Esarhaddon that might not be broken fairly introduces the honors of all three brothers. We may recognize an effort to solve the conflict between the secular power and the surviving privileged cities by placing members of his family in the four great official positions, and binding all with solemn oaths. It was as futile as similar efforts made by Egyptian kings.

THE KÊPU.

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Maspero (*Dawn of Civilization*, p. 675) thinks this officer a mere temple official. Johns *ABLCL.*, p. 213, expresses the same opinion. The data available render this untenable. A temple could have a kêpu, as in Johns *ADD.*, No. 50, K. 336, line 9; but in line 10 the tartan has a kêpu; in line 8 is a kêpu of the new palace. In Nbk. 460 we have a kêpu of the city of Raḥza. Such passages are numerous and show that the term kêpu expresses only the function of the officer, suggesting nothing as to the person or institution to which he was attached.

He becomes especially important for us when he appears as a royal official in subject provinces, where interference with the religious institutions of the nation is improbable. In VR. I. 58 and 110-11 Ašurbânipal speaks of ki-e-pa-ni ša ki-rib Mu-ṣur u-pa-ki-du abu ba-nu-u-a; in II, 32, of šarrâni paḥâte ki-pa-a-ni ša ki-rib Mu-ṣur aš-ku-nu. We can hardly think these important deputies were temple attendants of any kind. In Assyria the kêpu may often have been the chief official of a city.¹ Ašurbânipal, VR. VI, 83, also speaks of ki-pa-a-ni of cities of Elam. In 81-6-25, Nbk., 109, we have ki-i-pi ša mât tâmtim and a ki-i-pi ša a-ḥu-ul-la-'a.

Again, the kêpu is an important factor in political disturbances in Assyria and Babylonia. In H. 542, K. 114, the kêpâni of Bit-Dakkûri are abroad on a raid, and the kêpu of the beleaguered Bâb-Bitka appeals to Sargon for help, asking that the šaknu bring troops. We might infer that the kêpu is not himself in command of troops; that his functions are not military.

The kêpu is not frequent in the R^FHarper letters. In addition to the case just cited, we may notice H. 437, K. 168, rv. 9. Order is being restored in Akkad; the šatammê and kêpâni

¹Delitzsch, *BAS.* II, 36, reads EN.ÉR.MES as kêpâni, not bêl-alâni, in H. 83, K. 507; S. A. Smith reads it ḥāzanâte; (so also Delitzsch, *AL.* 1, No. 69; Brûnnow 2826. These only show uncertainty as to the precise character of the officer known as "the lord of a town").

are in much fear of the king. In H. 442, K. 543, the *ki-ba-a-ni* whom the king has appointed at Aššûr have . . . šê nu-sa-hi, šê ši-ib-še i-šab-bu-u. This handling of royal grain is significant. In H. 524, K. 588, news from Nabû-ukannik is given, "not as Nabû-ukannik wrote it, but as his *ki-pa-nu* wrote it." In H. 214, K. 831, a *ķêpu* is in charge of the city Ĥamû; acting as a *paĥâtu*? In H. 95, K. 1151, the *ķêpu* of Zibte with some other officials and fifty laborers (?) is asked for. A *šatammu*, *ki-e-pu*, and a *dupšarru* are mentioned in a broken letter about some gold, H. 476, 83-1-18, 5. Some *ķêpu* of Dêri has called for 2000 soldiers (or workmen?) for ĥalšu cities, in H. 868, 81-2-4, 119. Three or four broken passages yield no information, showing merely the title. In none do we hear of a *ķêpu* in a private or unofficial relation. These various data do not permit us to rest with the theory of a mere temple official, nor can we maintain that the *ķêpu* is always a government official.

Johns is surely correct, in *ADD.* II, p. 85, in his discussion of the first eight lines of col. III, K. 4395. As the first is the ^{amêl}*ki-e-pu*, the second the ^{amêl}*TIL.GID-da*, also known to be the *ķêpu*, and the seventh the ^{amêl}*NI.GAB*, usually read *ķêpu*, he conjectures that the intervening four may represent phases of the *ķêpu*'s functions. Yet with these hints he does not seem to have clearly comprehended them, conjecturing a rural magistrate as distinguished from an urban one. Magisterial functions are unproven by our data. Later in *ABLCL.*, Johns conjectured a temple functionary.

The seven titles referred to are, ^{1amêl}*ki-e-pu*, ^{2amêl}*TIL.GID-da*, ^{3amêl}*rab irrišê*, ^{4amêl}*rab ĥalšu*, ^{5amêl}*rab birtê*, ^{6amêl}*rab imêr u-rât*, ^{7amêl}*NI.GAB*. If these are developments from the primitive function we should be interested in determining what that was. Johns' theory of a rural magistrate will not explain it, nor harmonize with the occasional appearance of the *ķêpu* in connection with a temple or as the agent of a private individual.

The first ideogram above, ^{amêl}*TIL.GID-da*, is also written *TIL-la GID-da*, H. 542, K. 114, obv. 8; *TI-la GID-da*, MEŠ, Str. Nbd. No. 637, 8, or *TI-la MEŠ*, Str. Nbd. 102. In the salutations we meet the phrase *ûmê TI-la GID-da* or *TIL-la GID-da*, "days of long life; also *GID-da ûmê*,

H. 736, K. 1030, obv. 6. The ^{amêl}TIL-la GID-da would then appear to be "the man who prolongs life." Winckler, *AOF.* II, p. 12, collates K. 3500, K. 444, K. 10235. Esarhaddon is cursing the rebels of Egypt, Philistia, and Phœnicia. In lines 11, 12, "May thy life . . . and letters which I have sent thee for a living from the kêpu thou shalt not . . . If the kêpu is not gracious, thou shalt see his face, thou shalt break into weeping, not by their means (shalt thou prevail?)." The fragment at least suggests that indigent persons might be recommended to the kêpu, or appeal to him for sustenance.

The third title above is "chief of the farmers." This idea connects well with the preceding one. Compare Gen. 47:14-26. The Hebrew tradition makes Joseph to be born under Babylonian law in the province of Harran, and to introduce into Egypt a land system whereby the tillable soil falls largely into the hands of the king, as in modern Turkey, and the hands of the priests. The system is based upon a distribution of fortified store cities. The bankrupt farmer secures cattle, seed, and provisions from the royal agents. The live stock is largely owned by the government. The historicity of the narrative, or the antiquity of the system in Egypt, does not here concern us. It suffices that such a system was known to the Hebrew, was considered due to a former Babylonian subject, and that Joseph's function was "to preserve life;" Gen. 45:5; 47:25. Zaphnath-paaneah has sometimes been thought to be a corruption of some god's name + "let there be life."

We may include in the comparison now the rab ḥalšê, rab birtê, and rab urâte; they would be readily explicable from the preceding suggestions as developments of the kêpu. We may notice Nbk. 460; Nadinu says, "My lord, thou knowest that for seeds to the kêpu of Raḥza I sent, and money for the seeds I gave him." The kêpu of Ḥararâte sends a supply of domestic animals to Sennacherib, Taylor Prism, I, 52 *sqq.* How important these distributed store cities would be, in peace and in war, needs no minute discussion. They were at all times the life of pauperized masses; and necessarily strong cities as well as store cities, *cf.* Exod. 1:11. The overseer of such was not necessarily magistrate or military officer. But he was required to be a capable man of business, and a methodical accountant. We have already noticed the kêpu's connection with the ḥalšu, and a requisition

for workmen for such cities, in H. 868. The famous Nabû-bêl-šumâte is a *ķêpu* in Taylor Prism I, 52, and is *ķêpu* of an ^{alu} *birât* in H. 88, K. 507. We may add that the salutations in H. 247, K. 1027, suggest that an ^{alu} *birât* was not identical with "garrison city," repetition not being the rule in salutations. Compare Br. 1562: *bi-ra-ti*=*ki-ru-u*, "grove, orchard."

Various cuneiform inscriptions speak of such stores, or store cities. Hammurabi, Prologue III, 18 *sqq.*, extends the tillable land of Dilbat, and heaps up stores of grain for Uraš. Similar corn stores are mentioned by Gudea. Sargon, Cyl, 37-42, mentions his similar efforts. His uniform prices, we may be sure, could not be maintained unless the government itself were in the market, with ample granaries. "The king's price" appears also in the Code of Hammurabi, § 51.

Joseph's system would not only make him "the chief farmer" of Egypt, but also chief of the royal stud and herds, and hence employment of his brothers as subagents. So, in the titles discussed, a *rab urâte* would be a logical development of an expanding system; we find him immediately after the *rab birtê*. Nabûšumiddin in the RFHarper letters is the chief of the king's stud, reporting regularly arrivals of horses, detailing variety, condition, training, etc. In H. 557, K. 893, some one complains of him for having exacted from the servants of the king from the fields of the *birtê ali* provisions in excess of the royal orders. Thus the *rab urâte* and the *ķêpu* seem connected by occasional references with the ^{alu} *ħalšê* and ^{alu} *birâte*. In *LIH.* 56, 88, *šâb birti* of a city are mentioned, in connection with grain to be furnished them. Add the letters of Hammurabi concerning his cattle (King, *LIH.*), and the royal herd accounts in the E. A. Hoffman collection (Radau, *EBH.*); compare Mesha, king of Moab "a sheepmaster." In Camb. 194, the ^{amêl} *TIL.la GID.da* of Êbabbara, is the proper person to receive 200 geese for the temple. It seems that he lets out 50 "mother geese," requiring a return of 200 geese within the year. For the seizure of choice animals by royal agents, compare Neb. I, col. I, 51 *sqq.*; contrast 1 Sam. 8:15-17; 12:3.

That such agents were equally important in the management of temple property, or that of individuals, is apparent at sight. The temple stores are well described by Johns, *ABLCL.*, 211 *sqq.* In 82-7-4, 13, we have a single page of a *ķêpu*'s account book.

Pinches (*BOR.* II, 143) thought it a list of "gifts to a house of God." Its meaning is clearer today. Of 765 measures of grain borrowed, only 150 were returned directly to the kêpu; the rest was delivered at his order to various other parties. In H. 516, 81-27, 31, is the only passage in the R^FHarper letters connecting a kêpu with temples: "Nabû-aḫê-iddin the kêpu of Êsagila, I have put in charge of the revenues of all the temples round about Babylon." Clearly he is not the servitor of some god, but a capable business manager, handling temple magazines and lands as royal ones were handled.

Taxes being largely paid in kind, we can understand the necessity of Assyrian kêpâni in Egypt, not as tax collectors, but as guardians of the store system upon which the farmer's ability to pay taxes depended. The kêpu in the land of Elam was probably called a šarnuppu; see H. 281, K. 13.² Nabû-bêl-šumâte, once a kêpu in Babylonia, is in Elam dealing with a similar custodian of stores.

1 Kings 4:26-28; 9:15-19; 10:26; 1 Chron. 27:25-31; 2 Chron. 9:5-12 tell of similar developments in Israel, probably adopted from the Canaanites. Whether or not they existed in Canaan before the domination of Babylonia, about 2100 B. C., is yet to be determined. Vast subterranean storehouses have been found at Tell Zakariyeh and elsewhere (*PEFSt.*, 1899). Neh. 6:1-13 and Is. 5:8 are worthy of note. The last passage may recall the contrast between the small amounts of money or produce mentioned in contracts of the first empire and the enormous quantities named in contracts of the Persian period. The small land owner may have become extinct in Babylonia. (*Cf.* 1 Sam. 8:14.) We do not yet know that the Israelite store cities were administered like those of Egypt or Babylonia. The numerous loans without interest from stores in Babylonia may have been to persons who were renting land from the lender. Joseph's tenants of royal lands pay a rental of one-fifth the crop, which recalls a common rate of interest in Babylonia. That royal lands and temple lands were handled upon the same basis of valuation may be indicated by the frequent dedication of lands to the temples. The tenants apparently but changed landlords, paying the temple what they formerly paid the king. Compare 1 Sam. 8:15, 17 with Lev. 27:30; see Ezra 7:20-27, and Eze-

² Treated by Johnston, *AEL.*, p. 139, and Van Gelderen, *BAS.*, IV, 257.

kiel's endowment scheme, 45. A comparison of Br. 6475, 6499, 6513, shows the ideogram for *zakû* used to express "tithe," or tenth. The "dedicated land" paid the same rate in Assyria that was customary in Israel. How old the system was that put the cultivation of the temple lands out of the hands of the priests themselves we do not know. The Code of Hammurabi, §§ 178, 182, suggests that it may have existed then. In *LIH.*, No. 38, a *patesi* is transferred from the service of one man to that of another; and the new employer is reminded that he is responsible for the management of the *patesi's* field. Yet in 83-1-18, 264, Nbd. 934, a *šangû* of Sippara loans temple corn. Probably this implies that the temple was temporarily without a business manager. Compare Neh. 13:10 *sqq.*

An ideogram for *ķêpu* not found in K. 4395 is AL-la GID-da, Brünnow, 5752; suggestive of TIL-la GID-da. But instead of "lengthening life" this would seem to indicate "to lengthen or foster agriculture." For Brünnow, 5750, shows, GIS.AL = GIS.APIN; 5771, AL.DI = *erešu*; 5758, ^{amēl} AL.AG.A is *rapîku*. This word Delitzsch (*HWB.*, 626) allies with *šakâku*, "to plough or harrow;" cf. CH., col. XIII, 14, 29, and *sikki*, "a plough," in modern Arabic in Syria. Brünnow, 5772, GIS.SA.AL.HAB is *alluḥappu* or *šakḫu ša šê'im*, "grain sack." The agricultural associations of AL are marked. This new ideogram "fosterer of agriculture(?)" recalls the *rab irrišê* in the K. 4395 series.

This connection of the *ķêpu* with the agricultural interests of the country in all its phases, and his importance when supervising temple or government lands, suggests some possibilities relative to early Sumerian kings. ^{amēl} APIN, respectfully addressed in some RFHarper letters, might be a title for the king himself. In the EAH. collection (Radau, *EBH.*), *arē* very old accounts of royal agents. In some of these the king seems to be called "farmer." PA.LUGAL.ENGAR in EAH. 34, Radau reads "overseer of royal shepherds" (*EBH.* p. 379); but ENGAR is usually read "farmer" and is in the adjective position, making one think of "officer of the farmer king." Compare also EAH. 25; the oxen accounted for to the farmer king are specifically "plough oxen." Such "Farmer king" as title may be compared with the Hindoo Gai-kwar or "Cowherd" of Baroda. Notice also Brünnow 3819-21; ^{amēl} AB may be either

"farmer, prince, or elder;" suggesting a time when princes were farmers. Those believing the Sumerians to be Mongols may recall that the Chinese Emperor, the "Son of Heaven" still plows at an annual agricultural ceremony. Again, UR-Ningirsu (Arad-Ninib?) name of an early king, is simply irrišu or ikkaru, Br. 11267. Literally it is "servant of Ningirsu," who is Ninib, Br. 10996, the NIN.APIN, Br. 11007, or DINGIR.APIN, Br. 1020, or "lord of dates," Br. 767. Radau (*EBH.* 23) quotes Bur-Sin, the SIB.SAG or "chief shepherd" of Nippur, and ENGAR.LIG.GA of Ur; "mighty farmer" instead of Radau's "powerful shepherd" seems natural. Invocations of Nisaba, the "harvest-goddess," by the early Babylonian rulers, are to be considered. Against such Sumerian ideas set the Semitic preference for "faithful shepherd," familiar in royal inscriptions from Hammurabi onward. Yet the older view does not wholly disappear: Babylonian kings boast the title of "cultivator of the sacred tree;" Nebuchadnezzar II. calls himself "Farmer of Babylon." Hence ^{amēl} APIN might be a royal title in some RFHarper letters. In the collision of agriculturists of the river valleys (see TIK.EN-na) and Semitic shepherds of the highlands, it has been suggested that we might find a basis for legends like that of Cain and Abel.

These accounts of royal plough cattle, of temple stores, and granaries of the gods, let us understand that a kēpu would be needed by every large landholder, sacred or secular. Four sections of the Code of Hammurabi, 253-56, deal with this system of farming. The data above concerning AL and the kēpu suggest "means of cultivation" as the meaning of the ideogram AL.KAK.A (erēšu + epēšu). Such means our various citations have shown to be cattle, seed, and sustenance while raising a crop. "Implements," as Johns translates, is too restricted. Yet tools were sometimes supplied. In 82-9-18, 116, Str. Cyr. 26, a wealthy contractor, Sulā, leases 60 gur of land from the ki-i-pi of Êbabbara, and is furnished with 12 oxen, 8 irrišê, or cultivators, 3 iron ploughshares, 4 hoes, and 5 appâta of corn for seed, for support of the irrišê, and for provender for the cattle. The renter guarantees the temple 300 gur of corn. Tools probably came from the šutummu, or "store-house" of the temple, supervised by the šatammu. Observe the ša-tam bit unāti, or "keeper of the tool house,"

in Boundary Stone 103, Col. IV, 9. This assistant of the *ķêpu* and TU.biti frequently occurs; notice the *amêlšá-tam amêl* TU.biti *ilu* Marduk in V. A. 451, KB. IV, p. 152. ŠÁ. GAL in the sections of the Code is, as Johns translates, "provender" (Br. 8051, *ukullu*; see *HWB.*), rather than "growing plants" (Harper). Compare K. 2867, 27; *ukulti alpê šêni*. In EAH. 1 (*EBH.*, p. 323), we have "10 *gur* grain of the king for one (?) *gur* copper, as provender for the cattle." (*Cf.* II R. 39, 54, c. d.) In EAH. 5 (*EBH.* 324) we again have *ukullu* as food. The four sections of the Code are valuable as showing the indigence of the man who was dependent upon the *ķêpu* system of farming. Men financially responsible, §§ 42-65, make compensation or restitution for their delinquencies. In the *ķêpu* system the Code apparently assumes that the delinquent has nothing wherewith to repay, and punishes him, for a minor offense, by mutilation; for total delinquency he is torn to pieces by oxen (Johns, *DB.* V, 607). Such punishment may indicate that those dependent upon the *ķêpu* may have belonged largely to the politically inferior *muškênu* class. We have therein some suggestion as to the hard lot of the man who should, according to Esarhaddon's wish, find the *ķêpu* in a bad humor.

No English word seems to me to exactly express the meaning of the word *ķêpu*. As the agent of private parties he is nearly the "factor" of the English landholder; but as supervisor of government stores or temple revenues he has not his equivalent in western civilization though remotely suggesting the Indian agent of the American Indian reservations. I prefer to leave the term untranslated.

The ideogram NI.GAB is often translated "porter." As a name for the *ķêpu*, it may go back to the primitive custodian or "doorkeeper" of communal granaries. A Nabû-bêl-šumâte is a NI.GAB in Johns' *ADD.* 9, line 14. A rab NI.GAB.MEŠ occurs in *ADD.* No. 150, line 6.

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A NEW ASPECT OF THE SUMERIAN QUESTION.

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Despite the confident tone assumed by some Assyriologists, what has come to be known as the "Sumerian problem" is still far from having reached a solution that can be regarded as altogether satisfactory, and those who are not content with the tacit acceptance of a "tradition" cannot be satisfied with any other solution of the problem than the one to which the term "definite" can justly be applied. The impartial student must confess, however reluctantly, that this "definite" solution has not yet been reached. Granting that the evidence is sufficient to establish the hypothesis that "Sumerian" represents a real language, different and quite distinct from the Babylonian, and not merely a more or less artificial method of writing Babylonian—an outgrowth of the earlier period in which the method of conveying thought through writing was essentially ideographic—it still remains for the "Sumerologists," as the advocates of the former view may be called, to determine the group of languages to which the "Sumerian" belongs. All attempts to do so have failed,¹ and it must be confessed, rather sadly, that no serious progress toward such determination has been made since Professor Paul Haupt presented his paper on "Die sumerisch-akkadische Sprache"² at the International Congress of Orientalists in 1881.

¹ See Winckler's statement in his very recent publication, *Auszug aus der vorderasiatischen Geschichte*, p. 1.

² Published in the *Verhandlungen des fünften internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses* (Berlin, 1881), Vol II, 1, pp. 249-87.

Professor Haupt was generous enough to attach to his paper an appendix by Professor Otto Donner,³ in which that eminent scholar showed that the "Akkadian," as it was then generally called, showed no affinity to the "Ural-Altaic" group with which "Sumerologists" were disposed to class it. Since that time Hommel alone has had the courage—or temerity—to tackle this particular problem, but the acceptance of his views on this, as on so many other questions, has been confined to one scholar—himself.⁴ The most recent writer on the "Sumerian" problem, Fossey,⁵ has confined himself so far to an attempted refutation of Halévy's "anti-Sumerian" hypothesis, without any indication, beyond some vague hints, as to the place to be accorded to the non-Semitic idiom of the Euphrates valley in the "Turanian" group or groups.

But besides the philological aspect of the problem, to which until recently the almost exclusive attention of scholars has been directed, there are ethnological and archæological phases which are scarcely less important. If the "Sumerian" represents a non-Semitic idiom, then the Sumerians ought to be a non-Semitic people; but the ethnological evidence for the predominance at one time of non-Semites in the Euphrates valley is confined to a number of mutilated heads of statues, which turn out to be portraits of the priest-king Gudea,⁶ and to sculptures on early monuments. Three features in these heads have been singled out as proofs that they represent a non-Semitic type: (1) the turban-like head-dress, (2) the beardless face, and (3) the supposed contrast to the features of Semitic rulers. In regard to the head-dress, it is sufficient to recall that it can hardly be seriously taken as an index of race unless it can be shown, which is manifestly impossible if not absurd, that the turban which is characteristic of the ancient Arab and of the modern Bedouin was adopted by the Semites from their "Sumerian" enemies. The beardless face, as the shaven head in the case of early statues and monuments, may be due to a religious rite, or, as in the case of the statue of King

³ Pp. 39-48 in the separate edition of the paper.

⁴ Despite this fact, Hommel, in his latest work, *Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients*, pp. 21 sq., firmly clings to his position that the Sumerian belongs to the Altaic branch of the Ural-Altaic group. The list of "Sumerian" words, with their supposed Turkish equivalents which he furnishes on p. 22, does not inspire confidence in his method.

⁵ *Manuel d'Assyriologie*, Livre troisième, chapitre II, "Origine sumérienne de l'écriture babylonienne."

⁶ See De Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, I^{ère} Partie, pp. 129-45, and Heuzey, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, Vol. V, pp. 18-22.

Daudu found at Bismya—the ancient Adab⁷—to the rude character of the art; and the same factor minimizes the value of any deductions to be drawn from the general features of the individuals portrayed on early monuments. This argument, to be sure, does not apply to the Gudea heads, the workmanship of which represents a more advanced art,⁸ and Hommel was quite certain, immediately upon the discovery of these heads, that they represented non-Semitic types.⁹ Unfortunately, however, the noses are wanting on these heads, and ethnologists are agreed that, without so essential a feature, the criteria for determining the type represented are hopelessly imperfect. On the other hand, in the case of the figures on the monument of Ur-Enlil, which belongs to the very oldest period known, the late Professor Cope¹⁰—a most competent authority—declared that the noses and eyes pointed to a Semitic type, although other features, like the shortness of the jaw, did not appear to be Semitic. Granting, therefore, along with the assumption that the Sumerian represents a real language, that several races helped to produce the Euphratean culture, until something of a definite character shall have been determined regarding the specific origin and nature of the supposed non-Semitic population of Babylonia, the ethnological aspects of the problem are as far removed from the stage of a “definite” solution as the philological problem. The same criticism is to be passed upon the archæological aspects involved in the Sumerian problem. The position once taken by Sumerologists that a “Sumerian” text is to be regarded as indicative of the religious ideas and practices of the Sumerians, or of their social customs, their form of government, or the like, has been abandoned, ever since it was recognized that such texts may represent translations from the Babylonian-Assyrian into “Sumerian.” Zimmern admitted this for the so-called “Penitential Psalms.”¹¹ What applies to these productions applies to other hymns and prayers. The incantation series likewise bear all the marks of

⁷ See Banks, *Biblical World*, 1904, pp. 377-79.

⁸ It is to be remembered, however, that even in these statues, as Heuzey has shown (*loc. cit.*), the artists showed no regard for the proper proportions of the body in relation-ship to the head.

⁹ See his *Geschichte Babyloniens*, pp. 241 sq.

¹⁰ Hilprecht, *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, 2, p. 48, note.

¹¹ *Babylonische Busspsalmen*, p. 1. I say “so-called” Penitential Psalms, for these productions are not to be separated from other prayers in the Babylonian-Assyrian literature. See the writer’s *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* Vol. II, p. 10.

being such "translations," or, to put it more correctly, of having been originally written in Babylonian-Assyrian. Sayce's attempt to distinguish between "Sumerian" and "Semitic" elements in the religion of Babylonia and Assyria, as first made in his "Hibbert Lectures,"¹² and repeated, though with less assurance, in his more recent "Gifford Lectures,"¹³ fails to take cognizance of this fact, and it is sufficient to recall the extravagances to which scholars were led about twenty years ago as to the number and character of loan-words from the "Sumerian" in Babylonian, on the assumption that everything found in a "Sumerian" text or in the "Sumerian" column of a syllabary was non-Semitic, to demonstrate the untenability of the position maintained by the earlier Sumerologists.¹⁴ It is now admitted that the earliest historical and votive inscriptions contain Semitic words and Semitic constructions,¹⁵ and so strong an adherent of the non-Semitic character of the "Sumerian" language as Winckler frankly admits¹⁶ that no satisfactory criterion has as yet been found for distinguishing between the "Semitic" and "non-Semitic" elements in the complex fabric of Euphratean culture.

Whatever, therefore, our individual attitude toward the Sumerian problem may be, we ought all cheerfully and gratefully to acknowledge our great debt to Joseph Halévy, the author and consistent advocate of the "anti-Sumerian" hypothesis for a period of over thirty years, to whose acute and effective criticism of the defects in the assumptions, arguments, and conclusions of the "Sumerologists," the important modifications and limitations, introduced from time to time in the formulation and implications of their position, are due. It was Halévy who, by his insistence upon the absurdities to which his opponents were led, forced from them the admission that a considerable number of the phonetic values attaching to the signs of the cuneiform syllabary were of Semitic origin. The number of signs placed in this category grew until at present at least one hundred of such phonetic values

¹² *Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, pp. 325 sq.

¹³ *Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, Lecture 5.

¹⁴ Quite a different method is pursued by Leander in his valuable work, *Sumerische Lehnwörter im Assyrischen* (Upsala, 1903), although here words are still entered as "Sumerian" on the basis of occurrence in "Sumerian" texts which are in all probability good Semitic terms; e. g., *abulmah* "great gate," *abzu* "ocean," *azu* "physician," *êkalhu* "palace," *kinahlu* "sarcophagus," etc.

¹⁵ See, e. g., Radau, *Early Babylonian History*, pp. 145 sq.

¹⁶ *Die Völker Vorderasiens* (Leipzig, 1900), p. 8.

are by common consent admitted to be derived in one way or the other from Semitic words. It is again due to Halévy that the Sumerologists were led to admit that "Sumerian" texts could be written by Semites for the purpose of giving their thoughts an outward archaic form; and while, as a matter of course, it does not follow from this admission that the "Sumerian" may not have been a genuine language, it favors the assumption that the "translations" from Babylonian-Assyrian into Sumerian represent an artificial process that may well have arisen out of a more primitive but natural method of giving graphic expression to language by means of ideographs, with the addition of numerous devices and conventional signs to represent modifications in verbal forms and in nouns that in a phonetic system can be more simply and more accurately indicated. If we recall that all writing, even of the most advanced form, is largely symbolic, we ought not to be astonished at the predominance of artificial devices in early attempts; and while, on the one hand, practical considerations would tend to the simplification of systems of writing, the mystery involved in the ability to convey one's thoughts by means of graphic signs would counteract this tendency and encourage the disposition, especially for official purposes and in matters connected with the cult, to surround the system with a certain amount of "cryptic" subterfuges.

Halévy, to be sure, has time and again protested against the application¹⁷ of the term "cryptography" to his anti-Sumerian hypothesis, but he has weakened his case somewhat, it seems to me, by not emphasizing with sufficient force the largely artificial character of the "Sumerian" method of expressing one's thoughts, due, as is here suggested, to the two factors: (1) the inherent artificiality in every form of script, which is most pronounced at the period when a people attempts to modify a more or less primitive picture script in the endeavor to fix in writing facts and thoughts which, to a large extent, are in advance of the grade of culture which gave rise to the graphical system in question; and (2) the mystery connected in the popular mind with any form of writing.

Even in a purely hieroglyphic script the artificial element inevitably makes its appearance. To represent a man by a picture

¹⁷ See, e. g., Halévy, "Le sumérisme et l'histoire babylonienne," *Revue sémitique*, Vol VIII, pp. 239 sq., and the references in Weissbach, *Sumerische Frage*, p. 136.

of a man is a natural process, but to represent a man by a human head or a leg is already an artificial process; and when the idea of speaking is expressed by the picture of a man with his hand to his mouth, we have advanced a step further in the direction of artificiality. Developing along these lines, it is possible, by means of a comparatively simple picture script, to indite short dedicatory inscriptions on monuments or votive objects, and even to give a brief account of a military expedition; but when the need or the desire arises to give a permanent form to incantation formulæ, to prayers whose efficacy has been tested, or to the collection of omens and their significance as a guide for human conduct, and where much, if not everything, depends upon the *nicety* of expression, the artificial process becomes intensified tenfold in the endeavor to represent these niceties until the auspicious moment comes when the thought arises in the mind of a priest, keener than the rest, of substituting for the cumbersome, and at best vague, ideographic method a phonetic system with its flexible and adaptable basic principle. The phonetic system of the Babylonian script is obviously an artificial process, and this trait clings to it as it does to the next stage—the alphabetic, as represented by the Persian cuneiform—whether we adopt the “Sumerian” or the “anti-Sumerian” hypothesis.

That the newer and simpler phonetic method, however, did not drive the older ideographic method out of the field is due to the conservative instinct which prompted the retention for the religious cult of the “ideographic” texts already in use, as well as the production of new ones written in the old style. Again, in the writing of proper names of persons, gods, or countries which, because of the ideas associated with the “name,” had a religious aspect, the ideographic style would naturally be retained; and one can also understand that, despite its cumbersome character, numerous expressions conveyed in this style that had become, as it were, stereotyped would be bodily carried over into the new phonetic method. Certainly, on the supposition of a single language as the vehicle for thought in the Euphrates valley, the “mixed” character of practically all the historical, and most of the religious, texts can better be accounted for—other things being equal—than on the assumption that the Semites, who could not have been interested in the preservation of the language of the dispossessed “Sumerians,” should have continued to a late day to

preserve "Sumerian" methods of writing, and to write the distinctively Semitic names of rulers and individuals in the "Sumerian" style.

A second factor that would, on the supposition of a single language underlying the "Sumerian" and "Babylonian" systems of writing, account for the deliberately artificial character of the former and the persistency of artificial methods in the graphic expression of thought, is involved in the mysterious character attached in the popular mind to writing of any kind, and from the influence of which "superstition" (if we choose to call it so) even the intellectual class in antiquity would not be entirely free. The power supposed to reside in the spoken word, upon which the entire incantation lore, constituting so large an element in the Babylonian religion—as in all ancient cults—rests, was naturally transferred to the written word. Writing being an art confined to the priests in ancient society, who were the intellectual guides, as well as religious leaders, of the people, the masses must have been as much awed by the strange signs that had a meaning for the initiated only as they were by the power of these favored ones to bring about a response from the deities or to control demons—invoking or exorcising them at their will—through the utterance of certain formulæ. If it be borne in mind that to this day the use of amulets of one kind or the other, containing names of angels or demons, or some mystic formulæ, or extracts from sacred writings, is still widespread in the Orient; that up to a late period the Jews, *e. g.*, continued to associate an element of mystery with both the spoken and the written "Divine name;" that the cabalistic lore of the Middle Ages is bound up with the "mystery" attached to writing; that the untutored among the modern Arabs regard the written prescription of a physician as efficacious as the medicinal dose and therefore swallow both, it stands to reason that the ancient Babylonian scribes were not free from the influence of this aspect of writing. Under the influence of the mysterious element involved in giving a graphic expression to one's thought, every ancient system of writing, as it developed from a purely picture script to a more elaborate method of expressing precise formulæ and niceties of thought, would acquire a "cryptographic" aspect—precisely as modern stenography is essentially "cryptographic"—that is, an artificially devised system, the key to which is needed in order that it should become intelligible. Employed

in this sense, Halévy ought not, and probably would not, object to the application of the term "cryptographic" to his anti-Sumerian theory, for the phonetic method of writing Babylonian is likewise not free from a cryptographic aspect. We can well understand that, in addition to the conservative instinct leading to the retention of the traditional ideographic script for certain kinds of texts, this element of mystery connected with writing should have favored the accentuation of the "cryptographic" aspects, and thus directly contributed to the further development of purely artificial, as distinguished from more natural, methods of conveying one's thoughts through the medium of writing. In direct proportion as writing tended to become an art confined to the priests, the latter would be prompted by the instinct of self-preservation to invest the writing with as much mystery as possible, so mysterious, at least, that without access to the key it would remain a puzzle to the uninitiated.

From whatever point, therefore, we view the development of writing in the Euphrates valley, there would be powerful influences at work toward giving the older, and, in part, the newer, form of writing an artificial character. That the "Sumerian" presents many features which represent distinctly artificial processes is self-evident. It is sufficient to point to the frequent occurrence of the reduplication of signs to indicate the plural, as, *e. g.*, *an-an* "gods," *kur-kur* "countries," by the side of a genuine suffix *ne* or *ene*; the formation of the abstract of nouns by placing the syllable *nam* before the ideograph expressing the ordinary noun; the large number of prefixes attached to verbs, used to a considerable extent interchangeably, and corresponding to a variety of modifications of the fundamental idea attached to the accompanying ideograph; and more the like. It is inconceivable that a people possessing a high degree of culture, such as must have characterized the "Sumerians," on the assumption of the theory maintained by the Sumerologists, should not have perfected their script to a larger degree, and should have rested content with the vagueness and total incapacity for expressing niceties of thought that mark the Sumerian method of writing; whereas, on the supposition that these artificial features represent a species of stenography intelligible to those possessing the key, a much more satisfactory account can be given of the puzzles which the Sumerian presents even to those who believe that it represents a

language quite distinct from the Babylonian and belonging to a linguistic group that differs *in toto* from the Semitic Babylonian.

To be sure, the artificial character of the Sumerian being granted, it does not yet follow that the basis may not be a language different from the Babylonian; but at all events it is a great gain to establish the fact that what passes as Sumerian is to a large extent an artificial product, due to the Semitic settlers of the Euphrates valley; and if it reverts to a non-Semitic language once current in Babylonia, it no longer represents that language in its purity. The problem then consists in endeavoring to separate the artificial elements contributed by the supposed Semitic conquerors of the "Sumerian" founders of the Euphratean culture from the genuine features which belong to the language spoken by the founders—a task that has not yet been attempted, and which does not promise much success to the one who undertakes it.

These considerations of some of the aspects of the Sumerian problem are suggested by a remarkable concession made to Halévy's theory recently by an Assyriologist who is peculiarly competent to handle the vexed Sumerian problem. I refer to Dr. Rudolf Brünnow, the author of the indispensable "Classified List," and who in the gigantic task of preparing that work was at every point brought into direct contact with the problem of the relationship between Babylonian and the so-called Sumerian. In a recent number of the *Revue sémitique*¹⁸ there appears a most suggestive series of letters exchanged between Halévy and Brünnow, which should be read, not only by all Assyriologists, but by all Semitists, as well as by students of linguistics in general. Passing far beyond the position taken by Sumerologists in admitting that the genuine Sumerian has been tampered with by the Semites of later days and "semitized" to a certain degree, Brünnow is prepared to accept the view that all the so-called bilingual texts revert to a Babylonian origin, and that the so-called "Sumerian" version is in all cases a translation from the Babylonian. This position carries with it as a necessary corollary that a much larger portion of the phonetic values in cuneiform syllabary is of Semitic origin than is admitted by him in his "Classified List." Indeed, one might conclude that Brünnow concedes the entire syllabary to be based on Semitic Babylonian,

¹⁸ Vol. XIII (July, 1905), pp. 259-75.

for the novelty of the thesis that he puts forward consists in the proposition that the Sumerians, in whose existence as a people distinct from the Babylonians he still believes, represent, not the original inhabitants of the Euphrates valley, nor the founders of the Euphratean culture, but *late comers* who adopted and absorbed the Semitic civilization of the region, including the script and the syllabary which they used for writing their own non-Semitic language. The "Sumerian" votive texts and historical inscriptions, from this point of view, would represent the attempt of these newcomers to substitute for the language of the Semitic founders of the Euphratean culture that of the conquering people, while the bilingual texts—chiefly religious—would similarly form a part of the process involved in the absorption of the religious ideas, ritual, and customs of the Semites. Instead, therefore, of "Sumerian loan-words" in Babylonian, most if not all of the examples adduced by Leander in his recent monograph¹⁹—which, by the way, suggested the correspondence between Brünnow and Halévy—would be Babylonian loan-words in Sumerian. The non-Semitic conquerors maintained themselves for a sufficiently long time to acquire for their language official recognition, so that after their expulsion—or, if you choose, after their sway had come to an end—the Semitic "reconquerors" maintained the use of Sumerian, to a certain extent at least, in the cult, and continued to employ "Sumerian" for official purposes. The influence thus exerted by the Sumerian would account for such elements in the Babylonian method of writing and in the language itself as appear to be "non-Semitic." Naturally, Brünnow does not attempt to specify when the "Sumerian" invasion took place, or how much earlier the Semites were in possession, but the entire movement must have terminated before the date of the oldest "Sumerian" inscriptions, which, as admitted by the Sumerologists, contain Semitic words and show traces of Semitic constructions.

The honored name and distinguished services of Brünnow justify a careful and respectful consideration of any views advanced by him. In the present instance, the most noteworthy feature of the Brünnow-Halévy correspondence is the circumstance that Brünnow recognizes the unsatisfactory character of the solution proposed by the "Sumerologists" who constitute the large majority

¹⁹ See above, and Halévy's detailed review in the *Revue sémitique*, Vol. XII, pp. 229-45, 325-48; Vol. XIII, pp. 23-53, "Les prétendus mots sumériens empruntés en Assyrien."

among Assyriologists. He justifies, therefore, the attitude of those (among whom I range myself) who have felt all along the inherent weakness of the current hypothesis, and who have recognized the absurdities to which it has led, without, however, being able to satisfy themselves that Halévy has as yet found the real key to the solution of the puzzle. As a matter of course, persons maintaining such an attitude lay themselves open to the charge (or suspicion) of being "noncommittal;" but when one recalls the number of theories of all kinds that have been shipwrecked in the stormy career of Assyriological science, a certain reserve in connection with the most difficult and perplexing of all problems in the realm of cuneiform research seems fully justified. The new aspect of the problem suggested by Brünnow's letters to Halévy shows that the definite solution of the problem has not yet been reached, and this admission is an important gain for Halévy, whose voice for over thirty years has rung out against a hasty acceptance of a defective theory.

Coming now to a more specific consideration of the merits of Brünnow's view, it must also be recognized as a distinct gain for Halévy that Brünnow separates the question of the origin of the Euphratean culture from the "Sumerian" problem. The contention of the "Sumerologists" has always been that the "Sumerian" origin of the cuneiform syllabary carried with it the non-Semitic origin of the entire culture of the Euphratean valley which, according to the current view, was adopted by the Semites upon conquering Babylonia. This view involved the religious ideas as expressed in the names of the gods and in a considerable part of the cult; but since a study of the Babylonian-Assyrian religion betrays not the slightest trace of a break from the earliest period known to us down to the latest—the names of *all* the gods being expressed in "Sumerian" *and* Babylonian and used interchangeably, and the development of the religion, so far as it can be traced, proceeding in a perfectly normal manner—there was only one of two conclusions to be drawn: either that there were no *distinctive* Semitic features in the Babylonian-Assyrian religion, or that Sumerian and Semitic constitute synonymous terms. The former alternative is manifestly absurd, in view of the relationship between the religions of Babylonia and Assyria and the religion of other Semitic peoples, while the latter destroys the basis of the "Sumerian" hypothesis. What applies to the religion applies,

though in a different degree, to the other phase of the culture in the Euphrates valley. Brünnow's proposition does away with this difficulty. Separating the question as to the existence of a "Sumerian" language from the question as to the origin of the Euphratean culture, he clears the way for the acceptance of the fact that this culture, whatever its origin may be, is so thoroughly Semitic—or, if you choose, "semiticized"—at the earliest period to which it can be traced back, as to leave no room for any possible "non-Semitic" elements. Though Brünnow confines himself in his discussion largely to the linguistic features of the problem, he would no doubt be willing to include in his sweep the religion, the form of government, the social life, as well as the script. Indeed, he says in one passage²⁰ that he grants Halévy "toute la civilisation" as pre-Sumerian. To be sure, he does not concede the purely Semitic origin of the Euphratean culture, but is inclined to believe that it is a "mixed" product, due to the meeting of various races in the Euphratean valley, in which mixture, however, the Semitic element predominated, and eventually gained the supremacy. This theory, however, is entirely independent of the "Sumerian" problem and may be set aside in any discussion of the latter, since the possible non-Semitic elements in the old and original Euphratean civilization have nothing to do with the origin of the Sumerians, who enter as a factor *after* the script, the religion, the arts, and the social organization of Babylonia had been developed as a predominatingly Semitic product.

Halévy, on the other hand, makes an important concession in excluding from a consideration of the Sumerian problem the "obscure question of origins."²¹ He contents himself with the assumption that the Euphratean civilization presents itself as a *fait accompli* and Semitic in character. While the implication may be that the Semites are also the sole originators of this civilization, Halévy has, as I believe, removed one of the objections to his anti-Sumerian position by frankly recognizing the possibility that others than Semites *may* have contributed to the production of the Euphratean civilization such as we find it when it comes within the scope of historical inquiry. The weak point, undoubtedly, in the attitude of both camps, has been the haste with which the leap was made from the oldest form of the culture in Babylonia to the origin of that culture. The "Sumerian"

²⁰ P. 265.

²¹ P. 262.

problem, as it has hitherto been presented, has been essentially a problem of origins, the difference between the two camps being resolved into the question whether Semites or non-Semites produced the culture of the Euphrates valley. The new aspect of the problem involved in Brünnow's position and in Halévy's concession eliminates this element—definitely in the one case and temporarily at least in the other. The removal of this disturbing element is to be accounted a distinct gain and points the way along which further endeavors toward the definite solution of the problem should proceed. If it is once admitted that the existence of a "Sumerian" language expressed in the cuneiform script does not necessarily involve the non-Semitic origin of that script, one can conceive the possibility of accepting the contention of the Sumerologists without involving oneself in the difficulties which the acceptance of their theory in its present form includes—difficulties that have from time to time brought distinguished adherents, like Guyard, Pognon, Jäger, Price, McCurdy, Alfred Jeremias, Thureau-Dangin, and at one time Delitzsch himself, the teacher of two-thirds of the present Assyriologists of acknowledged rank, to Halévy's side, and that have evoked notable concessions, as, *e. g.*, Zimmern at the outset of his brilliant career was inclined to make, and that Brünnow now has made.

It requires, however, no elaborate argument to demonstrate the untenability of Brünnow's specific hypothesis. Apart from the fact that not a particle of evidence exists for the assumption that the control of the Semites in the Euphrates valley was interrupted by a non-Semitic invasion, such an invasion would have left its traces in other ways than in inducing the reconquerors to preserve a language in which they could not have been in the least interested. Indeed, the one thing that under such circumstances would not have been preserved, would have been the "Sumerian" language, since it would neither have been hallowed by any historical or religious traditions, nor associated with anything that would have appealed to the Semites sufficiently to outweigh the hold that the earliest associations for them—which, according to Brünnow, would have clustered around an essentially Semitic culture—must have had.

Just as there has been no break in the religious development of Babylonia from the earliest period to the latest, so there does not appear to have been any political movement from the earliest

period sufficiently radical to create a condition of bilingualism in the country. Considering that Cassites held sway in Babylonia for over five hundred years without imposing their language on the country, strong arguments would have to be forthcoming before we could be led to give favorable consideration to a theory which supposes an invasion that led to the "sumerization" of a country in which a Semitic script had been developed as the outcome of an intellectual movement of long duration.

Moreover, on the basis of Brünnow's theory, the artificial and archaic elements in "Sumerian" would be the strangest of puzzles. If "Sumerian" represents a real language, the conclusion is irresistibly forced upon us that as an essentially ideographic form of writing it must be earlier than Babylonian, which is a mixture of phonetic and ideographic writing; and similarly if the "Sumerian" system of writing is dependent upon an earlier Semitic one, it is inconceivable that the Sumerians should have been content with the vagueness and ambiguity inherent in the "Sumerian" system—a system so vague that no *certain* criterion exists for determining whether a "Sumerian" inscription is to be regarded as genuinely "Sumerian" or merely as a "Sumerian" form of what is to be read as Babylonian.²² All these phenomena, however, can be accounted for without much difficulty on the assumption that the "Sumerian" represents the earlier and less advanced system. As Halévy urges with force, the development of writing everywhere is from the ideographic to the phonetic method, from vagueness and ambiguity in the graphic expression of thought to definiteness and clearness, from a cumbersome system to a more simplified one; whereas Brünnow's hypothesis would just reverse the order. If therefore Brünnow is justified in his admission that the "Sumerian" presupposes the "Semitic," the burden of proof is shifted from the followers of Halévy to the "Sumerologists" to prove that Sumerian is not "Semitic." This is the new aspect which is now presented by Brünnow's attitude. The only conclusion compatible with all that we know of the lines along which systems of writing develop, the only conclusion in accord with all that we know of the historical traditions and the unfolding of religious thought in the Euphrates valley from the assumption that the cuneiform syllabary is Semitic in origin, is

²²So Zimmern, *Busspsalmen*, p. 4, admits, and his remarks still hold good at the present time, even if not to the same degree, since there are some early votive inscriptions apparently free from the "Semitisms" to be distinguished in the great majority of them.

that what is known as "Sumerian" is merely an older and an essentially ideographic method of writing Babylonian, developed to the extent of introducing a variety of more or less artificial devices for indicating, albeit in a vague way, the various forms of verbs and nouns and syntactical constructions which in a phonetic system can be expressed in a more definite manner. That in the later phonetic system abundant traces of the earlier ideographic method should have survived is exactly what we should have a right to expect; and that in the writing of proper names, in votive inscriptions, and in religious texts the older ideographic style should have been preferred is again in keeping with the conservatism attaching to everything connected with the religious beliefs of a people. On the other hand, that in the course of time the ideographic method, through the introduction of devices for conveying more elaborate thought than is involved in a short dedicatory inscription on a monument or a sacred object, should itself have been systematized so as to present features which have all the appearance of being regular prefixed, infixed, and suffixed syllables, postpositions, and the like, similarly proceeds along a perfectly natural line of development. Be it remembered that on the assumption of the anti-Sumerian hypothesis, what passes for "Sumerian" is due to the comparatively small body of religious leaders in whose hands writing, up to a latest period, was largely, if not exclusively, confined. Under such circumstances, the artificial though systematic methods devised on the basis of an ideographic script represent a natural outcome. The system involved in the "Sumerian" form of writing lends to it, according to this view, the appearance of a real language distinct from Babylonian, while the artificiality of the system accounts for the impossibility of assigning the "Sumerian" to any of the known linguistic groups.

One can well understand how Brünnow was led to the view that the entire cuneiform syllabary was Semitic. He was not satisfied with the "half-way" position of Sumerologists who, besides admitting Semitic elements in Sumerian, assumed that the Semites, after they had adopted the Sumerian, had introduced into the syllabary new phonetic values derived from Semitic words, and had artificially preserved the use of Sumerian in the cult until finally a "monkish" form of it, for which the Latin of the Middle Ages, in comparison with the classic speech, seemed to offer an

analogy, was produced.²³ One cannot resist the impression that all these admissions are simply so many steps in a gradual retreat, which will land us very close to Halévy's outposts—if not into his camp. If a hundred of the values of the cuneiform signs are of Semitic origin, may not the fact that more are not admitted be merely due to our ignorance of the Semitic words from which they are derived? It is not assumed by anyone that we know *all* the ideographic values of all the signs; and as long as this is not the case, he would be bold indeed who would venture dogmatically to maintain that any particular phonetic value may not turn out to be Semitic. Nor is there any valid reason why Semitic words and constructions should appear in the oldest inscriptions known to us, if the "Sumerian" is a non-Semitic language. If the writers of those inscriptions were Semites, we should expect them to have written Babylonian. If they were Sumerians and the possessors of a system of writing invented by them, there is no reason why they should have found it necessary to introduce foreign elements; and if they were Semites, intent on writing Sumerian as a sacred script distinct from the Babylonian spoken and written by them for general purposes, they would hardly have profaned the sacred character of Sumerian by introducing Semitic words and Semitic constructions. If we have not yet found texts reverting to a period when "pure" Sumerian was written, if the bilingual texts represent translations from Babylonian into "monkish" Sumerian, then it is surely more rational to wait until we get copious specimens of "pure" Sumerian before we adopt the hypothesis of the Sumerologists. Hope deferred is apt to exhaust one's patience, and Brünnow, after waiting for sixteen years after the publication of his "Classified List" without finding that the Sumerologists had any prospect of advancing beyond the "half-way" position in which they appear to be now stuck fast, has taken the radical step of practically admitting the Semitic origin of the entire cuneiform syllabary. It must be confessed that this position is much more satisfactory than that occupied at present by the majority of "Sumerologists," and, viewed merely as a working hypothesis, affords a better outlook for advancing the solution of the problem than the complicated theory of a "Sumerian" language which is full of "Semitisms," which is not "pure" Sumerian, and for

²³ See, e. g., Sayce, *Religion of the Babylonians*, pp. 322, 323, and, quite recently, Winckler in Helmolt's *History of the World*, Vol. III, pp. 4, 5, and Hommel, *Geographie und Geschichte d. alten Orients*, p. 21.

which it is impossible to find a place in any linguistic group. All things considered, the indications are that ere long Halévy will have the satisfaction of knowing that in reality the tables have been turned, and that the burden of proof for the thesis that Sumerian represents a real language distinct from the Semitic Babylonian, rests with those who maintain it, while those who maintain that Sumerian represents a highly complicated and largely artificial system for writing Babylonian, devised on the basis of an earlier ideographic system before a simpler phonetic system was introduced, will have the assumption of plausibility in their favor.

Further than this I, for one, do not feel disposed at present to go, and that for a very definite reason. It has above been suggested that Halévy's concession, that the question of the origin of the Euphratean civilization is to be separated from the "Sumerian" problem, removes an objection that has been experienced by many who might otherwise have been attracted to his theory. There are good reasons, besides the biblical tradition, for believing that the Euphrates valley was in very early days, as it still is at the present time, a gathering-place of various races. The impulse to culture comes everywhere through the commingling of peoples of different origin, and Dr. Ward has recently furnished some strong grounds for assuming that the invasion of the Euphrates valley by a people coming from the East—from ancient Elam—furnished the stimulus for the development of the Babylonian civilization. This people was in all probability—nay, one may say with certainty—non-Semitic, and if Dr. Ward's view turns out to be correct, a substantial basis will be given for the assumption, in itself probable, that Babylonian culture is a mixture of Semitic with non-Semitic elements. If this be so, we should be justified in expecting to find traces of the non-Semitic elements, both in the language and also in the script; and those non-Semitic elements would, in the nature of things, be more pronounced in the earlier form of the script—when it was still in the ideographic stage—than in the later stage when the advance to a phonetic system had been made. In view of this, the possibility that there may lurk in the "Sumerian" system of writing some features which point to the existence at one time in the Euphrates valley of a non-Semitic language, spoken, and perhaps even written, by the side of the

Semitic Babylonian, must be admitted. A civilization produced by the commingling of peoples of different origin should be expected to leave traces of that mixture in all phases of the culture so produced—in the customs, in the form of government, in the religious ideas, in the cult, and also in the language and system of writing. This hypothesis does not, however, affect the main contention of those who are inclined to follow Halévy, that the cuneiform syllabary and the entire system of writing developed in the Euphrates valley are *essentially* a Semitic product, and that within that system we are to distinguish between two successive phases: an earlier phase in which the ideographic method prevails, modified by a large number of more or less artificial devices for expressing one's thoughts with greater nicety than is possible in a purely ideographic script, and a later phase in which the advance step toward phonetic writing has been taken without, however, a total abandonment of the earlier system. The survival of the old in the new is in accord with the law of progress to be observed everywhere and in all departments of human endeavor. The conservative instinct which presides over cultural development precludes (except in rare instances) the absolute break between the old and new. Instead, we have a constant process of transition; and since there are no certain indications that in the unfolding of the Euphratean civilization there was the sharp division involved in the assumption of the transfer of a non-Semitic system of writing, invented by a non-Semitic people for a non-Semitic culture produced by them, to a Semitic language spoken by Semitic Nomeds who fell heir to a foreign culture, the presumption is in favor of a hypothesis which does not require so radical an assumption. When, in addition, this less radical presumption is enforced by evidence that points at all events to the thorough "semitization" of the system of writing used by the Semitic Babylonians, then in the choice between the alternative whether this "semitization" is to be ascribed to the fact that the system is actually, or at least essentially, of Semitic origin, or that it points to a non-Semitic origin of the system, the burden of proof, as things now stand, and in view of the important concessions made from time to time by "Sumerologists" to Halévy's contentions, may properly be said to rest upon those whose position involves the assumption that the Euphratean civilization represents one of the exceptions to the rule of cultural develop-

ment. I trust at some time to develop still further, on the general lines laid down by Halévy, the thesis of the largely artificial character of the devices used in the so-called "Sumerian" system—which I would designate as the modified ideographic system—for indicating verbal forms, prepositions, syntactical constructions, and the like. Meanwhile, I trust that this sketch of certain new aspects of the problem may serve at least to call renewed attention to the fact, admitted, *e. g.*, by Jeremias in his recent admirable sketch of the Babylonian-Assyrian religion,²⁴ that "the Sumerian problem still awaits a definite solution;" and I believe, furthermore, that Jeremias is justified in his assertion that the problem will not be solved by the exclusive appeal to philology.

SUPPLEMENT.

After reading the proof of this article, I received from Professor J. D. Prince, of Columbia University, the advance sheets of the Introduction to his forthcoming work, *Materials for a Sumerian Lexicon, with a Grammatical Introduction*, which is to appear as Vol. XIX of Delitzsch and Haupt, *Assyriologische Bibliothek*. In this work, on which Professor Prince has been engaged for a number of years, and which promises to be of great value, a further concession is made to the contentions of Halévy, to which attention should be directed. Professor Prince admits (pp. vii–viii of the Introduction) that, with few exceptions, the most ancient "Sumerian" inscriptions contain "Semitic loan-words" and "grammatical Semitisms." He is inclined to except the Gudea inscriptions; but against this see Radau, *Early Babylonian History*, pp. 145 and 209. Prince also admits that "in many cases" a Sumerian text represents a "translation of Semitic ideas by Semitic priests into the formal religious Sumerian language," and, passing far beyond scholars like Winckler and Hommel, who regard the Sumerian in the bilingual religious texts as a corrupt Sumerian, corresponding to the monkish Latin of mediæval times as against the classical speech, he concedes that under these influences the Sumerian developed into a "cryptography," or what practically amounts to such. It is because of this artificial character of Sumerian that attempts to connect it with any linguistic group have failed, and Prince is emphatic in

²⁴In the third edition (1905) of Chantepie de la Saussaye's *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, Vol. I, pp. 262, 263.

declaring that, though there are "tempting resemblances between the Sumerian and Turkish vocabularies, . . . Sumerian as we know it up to the present time stands alone" (*loc. cit.*, p. viii). "Nor is it possible," he adds, "to connect Sumerian as yet with any language by dint of probably accidental verbal similarities." Prince would probably be willing to go as far as Halévy in the recognition of the principle of *paranomasia* (or "popular etymology," as he defines it) in "Sumerian," and at all events he accepts unreservedly the largely artificial character of many of the phenomena presented by Sumerian. Indeed, he goes even a step farther and concedes that the evidences of word-plays in the meanings attached to signs and of other artificial features, "if taken by themselves, would be sufficient to convince most philologists that we have to deal here with an arbitrarily arranged cryptography rather than with a language." The saving clause here is "if taken by themselves," and the dividing line between Prince's position and Halévy's theory is moved back into the prehistoric period in which Prince assumes that Sumerian existed and flourished as the current speech of the Euphrates valley. For him Sumerian, as we know it, stands out as "a prehistoric philological remnant," from which it is possible, however, to draw the conclusion that the speech was non-Semitic, and that the people speaking this non-Semitic tongue were the inventors of the script and the originators of the Euphratean culture. Granting the largely "cryptographic" character of what passes as Sumerian, the question arises whether a criterion can be found to distinguish between older elements that revert to a genuine language distinct from the Semitic Babylonian, and such as are due to the devices of Semitic priests. So far as can be judged from the Introduction, Professor Prince makes out a strong case for the assumption that behind the artificial phrases of Sumerian lies a *real* language, but his proof is not convincing that this language must necessarily have been non-Semitic. He adduces no new evidence for the non-Semitic origin of the Euphratean culture, and he does not answer the objections against the assumption that the Semites should have retained a language in which they had no interest as the vehicle of religious thought up to the latest period of their supremacy in the Euphrates valley.

Professor Prince confines himself, in accord with the purpose of his instructive work, to the philological aspects of the problem,

and there is every reason to believe that his extensive collection of material will enhance the possibility of obtaining a clearer grasp of the complicated and intricate "Sumerian" system of writing; but unless he furnishes a satisfactory criterion for distinguishing between "cryptographic" and natural features in Sumerian, it is not clear how a definite solution of the problem can be reached, and even if such criterion is forthcoming, the obligation rests upon him definitely to establish the non-Semitic character of the "natural" elements. Meanwhile, his clearly defined position as an advocate of the largely "cryptographic" character of Sumerian, amounting, as he would no doubt admit in the case of many texts, to a purely cryptographic character for all practical purposes, may be said to mark an advance step in the discussion of the problem, just as Brünnow's innovation in separating the question of the origin of the Euphratean culture from the question as to the linguistic character of "Sumerian" represents a decided progress in the direction of attaining greater clearness in the presentation of the issues involved.

ΛΑΜΒΑΝΕΙΝ (INCLUDING COMPOUNDS AND DERIVATIVES) AND ITS HEBREW-ARAMAIC EQUIVALENTS IN OLD TESTAMENT GREEK.

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In the first of the three canons laid down by Lagarde in 1863 for the recovery of the genuine text of the Septuagint the student is advised to follow an eclectic method; that is, he must not confine himself to a single MS., but must seek to consult the entire available material. In the medley of variant readings with which he is confronted "his only standard will be his knowledge of the style of the individual translators: his chief aid will be the faculty possessed by him of referring the readings which come before him to their Semitic original, or else of recognizing them as corruptions originating in the Greek."¹

The "entire available material," including the daughter-versions, cannot be said at present to be accessible to students. Holmes-Parsons, if reliable, is in the nature of the case behind time. Lagarde aimed at recovering the original of the Septuagint by a series of preliminary groupings of MSS. leading to the three authoritative recensions of the church; he died with only an infinitesimal part of his gigantic work, as he planned it, done. Swete has given us the material contained in the uncials; the forthcoming Cambridge Septuagint will include the most important cursives. Upon Swete's edition is based Hatch and Redpath's Oxford *Concordance*. Readings not recorded in Swete, if we omit reference to the Sixtine edition (R), are ignored in the *Concordance*. The *Concordance* thus, in the first place, presents only a portion of the available material. To take an example, the *Concordance* registers on p. 6, col. 1, for II Ch. 18:2 the apparently undisputed reading ἡγάπα, with which, of course, the Hebrew וַיִּסֵּחַ (והי) cannot be brought into consonance; the correct reading, however, is ἡπάτα, found in MS. 243 Holmes-Parsons. In Sirach the absence of the data from MS. 248, which comes nearest the Hebrew and to which the Old Latin is likewise related, is particularly distressing.

¹ Driver's translation, *Notes on Samuel*, p. xlvii.

There is a second defect to the *Concordance* which comes home to him who uses the Septuagint for purposes of textual criticism. The quotations are adapted to the needs of the Greek student rather than to those of the Hebrew student. To get at the Hebrew syntax of the translators, for instance, one would have to verify each quotation with reference to what immediately precedes. Thus, in the first quotation under λαμβάνειν, the conjunction καί, in which the Hebrew student will be interested, is wanting.

Thirdly, the Hebrew-Aramaic equivalents printed at the head of each article are unreliable and certainly unserviceable. I have furnished the proof in an article which appeared in *ZA W.*, 1905, pp. 311 *sqq.*, where I also outlined a plan for a revised edition of the Hebrew-Aramaic equivalents, accompanied by a specimen article (μένειν). Another specimen article (καίειν) will appear in the forthcoming number of the *ZA W.* Through the courtesy of Professor Stade, who permitted off-prints to be sent me of both articles, I have been in a position to send them out to a number of the most competent Septuagint students in Europe and America. I have received very flattering and encouraging opinions, coupled in some instances with valuable suggestions, which I have sought to embody in the following article prepared for this *Journal*. Both the necessity of the work planned by me and the multitude of unsolved problems it raises have come home to me in the course of preparing this article. Only the work as planned by me in all its comprehensiveness will afford the Old Testament student the means for referring the Greek readings to their Semitic original as well as for detecting inner-Greek corruptions. Again, only on the basis of the complete induction will it become possible, by a process of concentration, to study the methods pursued by the individual translators, and the degree of their faithfulness and competency. What Frankel planned to do in 1841 will be possible only when my own work shall have been finished; perhaps I may do both. The three articles I have worked out have shown me that, long though the road may be, it is the only one that will lead to the goal: in the place of the brilliant but uncertain guesses, results which may be predicted with almost mathematical accuracy.

In the present article I have consulted other editions than Swete's and the daughter-versions only in cases presenting difficulties. In a future article I shall endeavor to show what, whether

little or much, can be gained from a constant consultation of Holmes-Parsons, for instance. I indeed attempted it when preparing this article, but time was too short, and so the experiment had to be postponed.

λαμβάνειν לָקַח⁸⁰² (+ IV Ki. 20:7 καὶ ἐλήμφθη A/וַיִּקַּח, passive for active, B=וַיִּשְׁמְרוּ . . . וַיִּחַי/וַיִּשְׁמְרוּ . . . וַיִּחַי; II Ch. 28:21 = (את אשר בבית) לקח/(את בית) חלק; Is. 49:24, 25 = וַיִּקַּח sc. וַיִּקַּח/וַיִּקַּח, or active for passive; Je. 36 (29):27 = וַיִּקַּח/וַיִּקַּח, or active for passive; Ez. 15:3 = וַיִּקַּח/וַיִּקַּח, or active for passive; Am. 2:11 = וַיִּקַּח/וַיִּקַּח; נָשָׂא¹⁴² (+ Si. 32 (35):13; 35 (32):2; 38:2; 42:1; Je. 23:39 = וַיִּנָּשֵׂא/וַיִּנָּשֵׂא (אתכם נשא >); Ze. 3:18 = מִי נָשָׂא, Nowack מִי נָשָׂא/מִי נָשָׂא; נָשָׂא (Pi.)² (+ Da. 11:12); וַיִּנָּשֵׂא²¹; וַיִּנָּשֵׂא⁶; וַיִּנָּשֵׂא²; וַיִּנָּשֵׂא² (Si. 37:5); וַיִּנָּשֵׂא¹; וַיִּנָּשֵׂא¹; וַיִּנָּשֵׂא¹; וַיִּנָּשֵׂא¹; וַיִּנָּשֵׂא¹ (not סגר!)¹ וַיִּנָּשֵׂא (inexact); וַיִּנָּשֵׂא² (inexact); וַיִּנָּשֵׂא² (inexact). || וַיִּנָּשֵׂא¹; וַיִּנָּשֵׂא¹.

Si. 14:16 καὶ λάβε = וַיִּקַּח/וַיִּקַּח (Lévi Peters)? Is. 49:25 λαμβάνων δὲ παρὰ ἰσχύοντος/וַיִּקַּח, free; σκυλα in the preceding clause may be an addition by the translator, or else = the dittographed מלקוח.—III Ki. 18:33 (34) λάβετε/וַיִּקַּח.—Jo. 11:19 ἦν οὐκ ἔλαβεν Ἰσραὴλ B ἦτις οὐ παρέδωκεν τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ AF = וַיִּקַּח אשר לא השלימה אל בני ישראל (παρέδωκεν* is used absolutely and השלים in the Aramaic sense, cf. Targum De. 32:30 אשלימיון = הסגורם; BAF) ἦτις εἰρήμευσεν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ † cursives in Holmes-Parsons (with variants) = וַיִּקַּח אשר השלימה אל בני ישראל/וַיִּקַּח. I Ki. 25:21 καὶ οὐκ ἐνετειλάμεθα λαβεῖν = וַיִּקַּח, v. s. ἐντέλλεσθαι. III Ki. 7:48 καὶ ἔλαβεν ὁ β. Σ. τὰ σκεύη ᾗ ἐποίησεν ἐν οἴκῳ B/καὶ ἐποίησεν Σ. πάντα τὰ σ. τὰ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ κυ A = וַיִּקַּח את כל הכלים אשר ביה בית יהוה H. III Ki. 11:1 καὶ ἔλαβεν > H. I Ch. 2:18 καὶ ἔλαβεν τὴν Ἀζ. A/ἐγέννησε τὴν Γαζ. = וַיִּקַּח הוליד H. † Is. 10:9, 9 ἔλαβον > H, paraphrastic; 10:10 λήψομαι presupposes > H (see the first half of the verse).—IV Ki. 12:4 (5) ἀνὴρ ἀργύριον λαβὼν συντιμήσεως B/איש כסה נפשות ערכו.—Is. 28:4 πρὶν (+ ἡ SAQΓ) εἰς τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν αὐτό/וַיִּקַּח בעודה.

* Var. παρέδωκε Κύριος Armen. in Holmes-Parsons presupposes וַיִּקַּח, then correctly ἦν, which is also read by 19. 108. Compl.; Κύριος is accordingly the explicit subject; παρέδοθη is read in a number of MSS. in H.-P.

† A doublet.

‡ Jerome combines both readings; hence Kittel: וַיִּקַּח וַיִּקַּח.

בכפר. — Jb. 31:27 οὐθὲν λαβὼν παρὰ χρεωφιλέτου / כמו נגיד אקרבנו; Jb. 38:14 ἢ σὺ λαβὼν γῆν πηλὸν ἔπλασας ζῶον* / תתהפך כחמר חותם; Is. 30:28 καὶ λήψεται αὐτοὺς κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν / על לחיי עמי.

> Jd. 7:5, 5 λήψη A error for λάψη B = לָץ H. — I Ch. 21:18 λάβη A error for ἀναβῆ B = יעלה H. — Hg. 2:2 (1) ἔλαβεν S¹ error for ἐλάλησεν S²BAQΓ = דבר היה H. — II Ki. 20:22 ἔλαβεν A error for ἔβαλεν (*sic*) B / וישלכו H. — I Ki. 14:42 λάβετε A error for βάλετε B = הפילו H; I Ch. 24:31 ἔλαβον for ἔβαλον Luc. = ויפילו H; Ne. 11:I ἐλάβοσαν BS¹ for ἐβάλοσαν R, ἔβαλον AS² = הפילו H; Es. 3:7 ἔλαβεν A for ἔβαλε BS = הפיל H.

'A קָבַץ²⁵; נָצַף⁷ (I Ki. 25:35 var.; Pr. 18:5; Is. 53:4; Je. 7:16; Ez. 16:58; 20:15; Ho. 13:1); הִבִּיא¹ (Ps. 77 (78):71).

Σ קָבַץ¹⁵; נָצַף⁵ (Ge. 49:3; Pr. 18:5; Is. 41:16; Je. 15:15; Ez. 16:58).

Θ קָבַץ¹⁹; נָצַף¹⁰ (Jb. 4:2 = נָצַף / קָבַץ; 13:8; 34:31; 42:8; Pr. 6:35; 18:5; Is. 41:16; Ez. 16:58); נָצַף (Pi.)¹ (Da. 11:12). || בָּבַל¹ (Da. 2:6).

Al. קָבַץ²; † נָצַף¹ (Le. 20:17); נָצַף (Ca. 7:8 (9)). I Ki. 30:22 λαβέτωσαν perhaps a gloss on 'A ἐλασάτωσαν = ינהגו H.

Hebr. נָצַף¹.

Object ἀργύριον אֶרֶץ¹: v. s. συμπεριλ.; γυνή ἡ Αἰγύπτ². Σ ἡ Αἰγύπτ¹ (Ho. 2:19 (21)); κόλασις יְנִיבִלִים¹ (Ez. 43:11); πείρα πῶς¹; πόλις ἡ πόλις²; ὕδωρ + μέτρω πῶς¹ (De. 2:6); victims הַקְרִיב².

Pr. 11:21 ὁ δὲ σπείρων δικαιοσύνην λήμψεται μισθὸν πιστόν = מלך צדיקים נמלך / זרע צדיקים נמלך, free.

+ εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν על-לֵב שִׁים¹.

> IV Ki. 12:4 (5) λάβη B error for ἀναβῆ AR = יעלה H.

+ ἐν γαστρὶ הַקְרִיב¹¹.

Ge. 30:41 τὰ πρόβατα ἐν γαστρὶ λαμβάνοντα / הצאן המקשרות cf. Menahem and Samuel b. Meir.

Θ הִקְרִיב³ (on the form in Is. 59:13 consult the grammars).

αἰσχύνη λαμβάνει αὐτόν שִׁבְיָ¹; ὁδύνη λ. α. ἡ ἰל¹; τρόμος λ. α. ἡ ἰל¹; φόβος λ. α. הַקְרִיב¹.

λάβετε ἑαυτοῖς לָקַח¹.

λαβεῖν לָקַח¹.

* R. γῆς with C.; = חמר לתרים?

† On De. 7:25 see Field.

λαμβάνεσθαι (middle) בָּ רָחַץ¹ (Jd. 7:20 A; v. s. κρατείν).

λαμβάνεσθαι (passive) בָּלָץ⁶ (+ I Ki. 21:6(7) ἔλαβεν αὐτοὺς/יְהָרַץ, active for passive); רָץ impf. רָץ⁵ (+ Jd. 17:2 ἀργυρίου τοὺς ληφθέντας σοι A = כָּךְ רָץ אֲשֶׁר הָכַס H; οὗς ἔλαβες ἀργυρίου σεαυτῇ B misunderstands the Hebrew, see Moore; II Ki. 23:6 ληφθήσονται = רָץ/יְהָרַץ); נָשָׂא (Ni.)²; נָלַץ²; שָׂעָץ².

Ez. 29:14 ὅθεν ἐλήφθησαν = מָרָתָם (cf. De. 2:6)/מִרְרָתָם, or כָּרָה = כָּרָה. > I Ki. 21: 9 (10) εἰλημμένη A error for εἰλημένη B = לָחַץ H; Is. 11:5 εἰλημμένος SA for εἰλημένος/וָרָא, free.

Σ רָץ impf. רָץ² (Ge. 2:23; Is. 49:24); part. רָץ¹ (Pr. 24:11).

Θ רָץ (Je. 48 (31):46).

λαβή לָבַץ¹.

λαβίς, λαβίδες מִלְקָחִים³. 'ΑΣΘ do.¹

εὐλαβής לָחַץ¹; לָחַץ¹ (Si. 11:17). εὐλαβῇ ποιεῖν יְהָרַץ¹ (= וְהָרַתָּם Sam/וְהָרַתָּם).

ἀνευλαβής 'A לֹא תִירָאִי (see Field).

εὐλαβεῖσθαι לָחַץ² (+ Si. 7:6; Je. 4:1 = תָּנַד/תָּנַדָּר (> וָלַד)); לָחַץ¹ (+ Si. 7:29; 41:3); לָחַץ¹ (+ Is. 51:12 = דָּא/דָּאנָת, or repetition from 57:11); לָחַץ¹; לָחַץ¹; לָחַץ¹ (+ Je. 15:17 = רָץ/וָרָא?). || לָחַץ¹ (pass. for act.). Imp. לָחַץ³. Part. לָחַץ¹.

Jb. 6:16 οἷτινές με εὐλαβοῦντο (A δι- B)/הִקְדַּרִים מִנִּי. Pr. 24:28 (30:5) τῶν εὐλαβουμένων αὐτόν/בְּרָחִים; Ma. 3:16 καὶ εὐλαβουμένοις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ/שְׁמוֹ וְהָשִׁבֵּי שְׁמוֹ.

Σ לָחַץ³; לָחַץ¹ (Ps. 118 (119):39).

Al. לָחַץ¹.

εὐλάβεια לָחַץ¹.

λήμμα מִשָּׂא¹²; מִשָּׂא²; מִשָּׂא¹.

II Ki. 14:7 λήμμα A error for λείμμα cf. κατάλειμμα B = מִשָּׂאֲרִית H; IV Ki. 19:4 λήμματος B error for λείμματος AR = מִשָּׂאֲרִית. 'A מִשָּׂא²; מִשָּׂא (Je. 23:39/מִשָּׂא).

Σ מִשָּׂא¹⁴; מִשָּׂא¹ (Ez. 20:31); מִשָּׂא¹ (Je. 40 (47):5).

Θ מִשָּׂא¹⁴; מִשָּׂא¹ (Jb. 31:23).

ληπτός Θ (= לָחַץ¹/לָחַץ?).

λήψις לָחַץ¹ (Si. 42:7 text; mrg. מִשָּׂא).

Pr. 15:27 δώρων λήψεις תִּנְתָּן. Si. 41:19 λήψεως καὶ δόσεως = תִּנְתָּן וְתִתָּן (cf. 42:7 mrg.) / מתת שאלה.

’A תִּנְתָּן². Σ תִּנְתָּן¹. Θ תִּנְתָּן¹.

ἀναλαμβάνειν נִשְׁׁׁׁׁ³⁹ (+ Ez. 12:6, 7, pass. for act.); תִּנְתָּן¹⁴; תִּנְתָּן²; תִּנְתָּן¹; תִּנְתָּן¹; תִּנְתָּן¹; תִּנְתָּן¹ (Si. 50:11; v. s. ἀναβάλλειν).
Object θάρσος (תִּנְתָּן) תִּנְתָּן¹; ὅπλα תִּנְתָּן¹. + ἐν καρδίᾳ תִּנְתָּן¹.

Ez. 2:2 καὶ ἀνέλαβέ με καὶ ἐξήρε με according to Cornill a mistaken gloss > H.

’A תִּנְתָּן³; תִּנְתָּן¹ (Pr. 4:8, cf. Σ βάσταζε, he accordingly took our word as a synonym of תִּנְתָּן, v. s. βαστάζειν; similarly Menahem Ibn Ḡanaḥ Ibn Ezra Kimḥi; ὁ περιχαράκωσον connects our word with תִּנְתָּן, v. s. χάραξ, which, of course, is a derivative from תִּנְתָּן, see the lexica).

Σ תִּנְתָּן⁷; * תִּנְתָּן¹ (Je. 31(38):4).

Θ תִּנְתָּן³. || תִּנְתָּן¹ (Da. 4:31).

ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι (middle) ΣΘ תִּנְתָּן¹ (Is. 53:12).

ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι (passive) תִּנְתָּן¹ (+ Si. 48:9; 49:14); תִּנְתָּן¹; תִּנְתָּן¹. || תִּנְתָּן¹.

Σ תִּנְתָּן¹ (Ez. 11:24).

ἀναλημπτήρ, -πτωρ תִּנְתָּן¹.

’A תִּנְתָּן or תִּנְתָּן¹?

Σ תִּנְתָּן¹. Θ תִּנְתָּן².

ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι (middle) תִּנְתָּן⁶ (+ Si. 3:12 = קִיחַח / קִיחַחח); תִּנְתָּן² (Is. 41:19; Ez. 16:49); תִּנְתָּן²; תִּנְתָּן⁴ (+ Ps. 138(139):13 = תִּסְכְּנִי / תִּסְכְּנִי; Baethgen less plausible); תִּנְתָּן⁴; תִּנְתָּן³; תִּנְתָּן³ (+ Ps. 39(40):11 = יִעֲזָרֵנִי / יִעֲזָרֵנִי?); תִּנְתָּן¹ (Is. 49:26); תִּנְתָּן¹; תִּנְתָּן¹ (free, see the lexica); תִּנְתָּן¹; תִּנְתָּן. Part. (as a noun) תִּנְתָּן¹ (see the lexica). οὐκ ἄ. תִּנְתָּן (תִּנְתָּן sc.) מִנְתָּן (Si. 12:4 (or 7)).

Ps. 47(48):3 ὅταν ἀντιλαμβάνηται αὐτῆς / תִּנְתָּן. Ez. 20:5, 6 ἀντελαβόμεν τῇ χειρί / יְדֵי תִנְתָּן, paraphrastic and dogmatically conditioned.—Ps. 106(107):17 ἀντελάβετο αὐτῶν = תִּנְתָּן (v. s. ἀντίληψις) / אוֹלִים.—Pr. 11:28 ὁ δὲ ἀντιλαβανόμενος δικαίων = וְיִמְעַל צְדִיקִים? (Jäger in Baumgartner 116) / וְיִמְעַל צְדִיקִים.—Mi. 6:6 ἀντιλήψομαι / לִי אֶבֶן.

’A תִּנְתָּן².

* Jb. 4:2 תִּנְתָּן / תִּנְתָּן; Je. 36(43):15 שֶׁא / שֶׁב.

Σ מִצֵּי^1 (Ps. 36 (37): 17); מִצֵּי^1 .

Θ מִצֵּי^2 ; מִצֵּי (Is. 59:16). || מִצֵּי^1 (Da. 6:27(28)).

Al. מִצֵּי^1 (Pr. 29:23). Part. מִצֵּי^1 .

S' מִצֵּי^1 .

ἀντιλήπτωρ מִצֵּי^8 ; מִצֵּי^2 ; מִצֵּי^1 ; מִצֵּי^1 ; מִצֵּי^1 ; מִצֵּי^1 (Si. 12:22); מִצֵּי^1 .

ἀντίληψις מִצֵּי (form like מִצֵּי) or מִצֵּי^1 ; * מִצֵּי^1 ; מִצֵּי^1 ; מִצֵּי^1 ; מִצֵּי^1 ; מִצֵּי^1 (Si. 51:7).

Si. 11:12 προσδεόμενος ἀντιλήψεως / מִצֵּי^1 .

Σ מִצֵּי^1 .

ἀπολαμβάνειν מִצֵּי^1 .

De. 26:5 Συρίαν ἀπέβαλεν B (or ἀπέλιπεν Luc. Armen. 1 Syro-hex.) probably the correct reading, and ἀπέλαβεν AF an error / מִצֵּי^1 . Is. 5:17 τὰς ἐρήμους τῶν ἀπειλημμένων / מִצֵּי^1 (see Schleusner, who is followed by Ottley, for a suggestion).

ἐκλαμβάνειν מִצֵּי^1 ; מִצֵּי^1 .

ἐλλαμβάνεσθαι (middle) Θ מִצֵּי^1 .

ἐπιλαμβάνειν מִצֵּי^2 (Za. 14:13; Is. 14:1); מִצֵּי^1 (Is. 5:29); מִצֵּי^1 (Is. 3:6).

Je. 38 (31):4 ἐπιλήμψει B error for ἐτι λήμψη AQ = מִצֵּי^1 H.; v. s. λαμβάνειν.

Θ מִצֵּי^1 (Pr. 11:16).

Al. מִצֵּי^1 (De. 32:43).

ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι (middle) מִצֵּי^1 (Ps. 34 (35):2; Za. 8:23 primo; Je. 30:13 (49:24) = מִצֵּי^1 / מִצֵּי^1); מִצֵּי^1 (s. v. l.) (II Ki. 15:5); מִצֵּי^1 (Jb. 30:18 = מִצֵּי^1 / מִצֵּי^1); מִצֵּי^1 (Jb. 16:8(9) probably from Θ); מִצֵּי^1 .

Si. 4:11 ἐπιλαμβάνεται perhaps = מִצֵּי^1 / מִצֵּי^1 (Schechter); v. s. ἀναλ. and ἀντιλ.—Jl. 2:9 τῆς πόλεως ἐπιλήφονται / מִצֵּי^1 .

'A מִצֵּי^1 (Ex. 9:2); מִצֵּי^1 .

Σ מִצֵּי^1 .

Θ מִצֵּי^1 .

Al. (see Field) Ps. 2:11 ἐπιλάβεσθε ἐπιστήμης / מִצֵּי^1 .

* Cf. Ps. 21 (22): 19 βοήθεια = מִצֵּי^1 ; v. s. ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι.

† Cf. מִצֵּי^1 = λαμβάνειν; מִצֵּי^1 ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι (Payne-Smith, s. v.); מִצֵּי^1 in the Targum = מִצֵּי^1 .

‡ מִצֵּי^1 imitates orthography of מִצֵּי^1 .

κατάλημμα B error for -λειμμα R = רִיחַ H; v. s. ἰσχύς.

κατάληψις שִׁטְף¹.

μεταλαμβάνειν Σ τοῦ μεταλαβεῖν / לְהַבִּיחַ¹.

παραλαμβάνειν קָבַץ¹³; שָׁבַץ³; קָבַץ³. || קָבַץ².

Je. 39 (32):7 παραλαβεῖν εἰς κτήσιν / לקנות הגנאל משפּ; ib. 8 π. ε. κ. Α κτήσασθαι αὐτόν BS / הגנאל ולך הירשה משפּ.—Da. 6:28 (29) παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ / ובמלכותו.

παραλαμβάνεσθαι (middle) קָבַץ¹ (Nu. 23:20).

περιλαμβάνειν רָבַץ⁶ (+ Si. 30:20); רָבַץ³; תָּבַץ¹; רָבַץ¹.

'A περιλαμβάνεις / רָבַץ¹.

Al. רָבַץ¹.

περιλαμβάνεσθαι (passive) Is. 31:9 πέτρα γὰρ περιλημφθήσονται ὡς χάρακι / ממגור יעבור, v. s. χάραξ.

περίλημμα-, ληψις רָבַץ¹.

προκαταλαμβάνεσθαι (middle) קָבַץ¹⁸; קָבַץ¹; קָבַץ¹; קָבַץ¹.

Σ קָבַץ¹.

Al. קָבַץ¹.

προκαταλαμβάνεσθαι (passive) קָבַץ¹.

προσλαμβάνειν קָבַץ¹.

προσλαμβάνεσθαι (middle) רָבַץ¹; קָבַץ¹; קָבַץ¹; קָבַץ¹. + εἰς λαόν קָבַץ¹.

'A קָבַץ¹.

συλλαμβάνειν קָבַץ²⁴; קָבַץ²²; קָבַץ¹⁰; קָבַץ¹⁰. Part. perf. fem. קָבַץ¹. Ca. 8:2 > H.

'A קָבַץ² (Jb. 15:35; Is. 33:11); קָבַץ¹ (IV Ki. 10:14).

Σ קָבַץ²; * קָבַץ¹ (Ca. 2:15); קָבַץ¹ (II Ki. 8:4); קָבַץ (?) (Je. 22:19 ὡς κόπριον (= קָבַץ or קָבַץ) συλληφθεῖς / וְבִקָּבַץ, passive for active).

Θ Jb. 39:13 ἐὰν συλλάβῃ ασιδα και νεσσα / וְנָצַח אַחֲרָהּ חֲסִידָהּ אִם. Schleusner conjectures קָבַץ¹.

Al. קָבַץ¹.

+ ἐν γαστρί קָבַץ¹.

'A קָבַץ¹ (Is. 7:14).

συλλαμβάνεσθαι (middle) קָבַץ¹ (IV Ki. 10:14).

συλλαμβάνεσθαι (passive) קָבַץ⁹; קָבַץ⁸; קָבַץ¹; קָבַץ¹ (see Baethgen).

* Ru. 1:12 = קָבַץ / קָבַץ; see, however, Field.

A לָקַח¹ (Pr. 11:6); קָח (Niph. of קָח = Aram. קָח) (Je. 6:12 = וְקָח/וְקָח; see Field); שָׁחַט¹ (Ez. 21:23(28)).

Σ λήξω³; קָחַמ¹ (Pr. 5:22); שָׁחַט¹ (Ez. 21:24(29)). Ps. 68(69):23 ὥστε συλληφθῆναι לְמוֹרָא.

Θ λήξω¹ (Pr. 11:6); קָחַמ¹ (Jb. 22:16). Is. 51:20 ὡς ὄρουξ συνειλημμένος מִקָּחַר (Schleusner conjectures מִקָּחַר).

Hebr. לָחַץ¹.

σύλληψις הָרַח¹ (/הָרַח); לָחַץ¹; (dat.) תְּפִישׁ¹.

’ΑΣΘΕ¹ הָרַח¹.

= Plural תְּפִישׁ¹.

’A הָרַח (s. v. l.).

συμπαλαμβάνειν לָקַח וְיָקַח¹.

συμπαλαμβάνεσθαι (passive) תִּפְסָךְ¹.

συμπεριλαμβάνειν תִּצָּר¹.

συναναλαμβάνεσθαι (passive) תִּקְלַח¹.

συναντιλαμβάνεσθαι (middle) c. dat. תִּשָּׂא¹.

Ps. 88(89):21 συναντιλήψεται αὐτῷ/עֲבֹן עֲבֹן, free. Ge. 30:8 συναντελάβετό μου Rbmt (z has μοι) or συνελάβετό μοι DEacy is the correct reading/נִפְתָּלִי (אֱלֹהִים), a free and dogmatically conditioned rendering; συνεβάλετο A seems to be an error for συνελάβετο.

ὑπολαμβάνειν קָחַת²³; קָחַת² (observe that in both cases the verb, in Greek as well as in Hebrew, is followed by an object; ἀνομίαν = הַחֲוִית/הַחֲוִית Schleusner; Ps. 16(17):12 = הַמִּינִי/הַמִּינִי, Cappellus quoted by Schleusner); תִּשָּׂא¹ (II Ch. 25:8 = אֶתְּ אֶתְּ אֶתְּ כִּי אֶתְּ or something similar/בֶּאֱ אֶתְּ cf. Kittel); תִּשָּׂא¹; תִּשָּׂא¹; תִּשָּׂא². || תִּשָּׂא².

Ps. 67(68):16 ὑπολαμβάνετε/תִּרְצִדּוּן. Jb. 20:2 ὑπελάμβανον ἀντερῆν σε ταῦτα = תִּשָּׂא וְיִשָּׂא דָא. Da. 2:30 ἃ ὑπέλαβες καρδιά σου = רַעְיוֹנִי לִבְבְךָ. Je. 44(37):9 μὴ ὑπολάβῃτε ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν/אֵל תִּשָּׂא נַפְשְׁכֶם.

’A קָחַת¹.

Σ קָחַת² (Ec. 7:24(23); 10:3); שִׂים¹.

Θ קָחַת¹.

ὑπολαμβάνεσθαι (passive) IV Ki. 20:7 ὑποληφθήσεται A error for -λειφθ. B = תִּרְצִדּוּן H.

ὑπόληψις תִּשָּׂא וְיִשָּׂא¹.

THE STORY OF HOSEA'S MARRIAGE.

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We do not have the whole story of Hosea's family life in his own words, for chap. 1 is not told by himself, but by someone else, probably one of his disciples; for, as chap. 3 shows, he himself told the story in the first person: "Jahve said to *me*," etc.; not "Jahve said to *Hosea*." It is not likely that he would tell part of the story in the first and part in the third person.

There is, however, no doubt that the story in chap. 1 is authentic; *i. e.*, that it goes back to Hosea himself, as far as the facts related in it are concerned—the facts of his marriage, the name of his wife, the strange names of his three children and their significance, and the part Jahve plays in every one of them. Only vs. 2*b* is somewhat different from the rest of the chapter. The explanatory clause in vs. 2 reads: "for the land commits great whoredom, departing from *Jahve*." In the other explanations of the names Jahve speaks in the first person (see vss. 4, 5, 6, 9); they must therefore go back directly to Hosea. We naturally expect in vs. 2 also that Jahve should say: "for the land commits great whoredom departing from *me*," not "from *Jahve*." This explanation in vs. 2*b* appears therefore not to be original with Hosea, but to be due to an editor or reader.

But this clause in vs. 2*b* is very closely connected with 2*a*. We expect some such explanation for vs. 2*a*. If Hosea did not give it, as we have just been led to conclude, what can have been the reason for the omission? Plainly this: that he did not report in his own story the saying of Jahve as, "Go, take thee a wife of whoredom," but simply, "Go, take thee a wife" וְשֵׁנָה. The first would have needed an explanation, such as we now have in vs. 2*b*; the second, not. He does not receive the command to marry a harlot, but simply to marry a wife. In regard to the clause "and children of whoredom," it has long been noticed that it is, to say the least, very strange, and it is very precarious to regard it as original by assuming that "and *get* children of whoredom" is to be understood. So this phrase has rightly been regarded as a gloss before.

All this is, of course, essentially in harmony with the prevailing view of those who regard the chapter as the record of a real experience and not as an allegory; who see in it the outcome, not the beginning, of Hosea's experience. Hosea married a pure woman, without knowing that she would prove unfaithful. But, looking back on his whole life, he understood that it was all providential, that his marriage with just such a woman had been intended by Jahve. The only difference in the view just presented is the answer given to the question whether Hosea would have expressed this conviction in the manner in which it is now recorded in the text. To me it seems more probable that he did not, and the indications pointed out above, slight as they must be in the nature of the case, are sufficient to regard vs. 2b as an addition which is not original with Hosea.

In this connection it is significant to note that the later Hebrew has a use of the verb גִּמַּר, meaning "to gratify the sexual appetite."¹ This is clearly a denominative, meaning to behave Gomer-like. It appears then very plausible to regard "wife of whoredoms" as a marginal gloss by a reader who meant to explain the name Gomer. When this had once crept into the text, it was easy and natural for another reader to add from 2:6 "and children of whoredoms."²

After 1:9 the narrative of Hosea's life breaks off, and we do not have the continuation till we come to chap. 3; for chap. 2 has to do with the relation of Jahve and Israel. Significantly enough Hosea tells the story here in the first person. This shows plainly that he must have told the whole story in the first person; for it is hardly likely, as was said above, that he would tell the story partly in the first and partly in the third person,³ and, moreover,

¹ Dr. Ginsberg of the Jewish Seminary called my attention to this.

² It would not be strange if some adherent of the allegorical interpretation would seize on this and point out that this explanation of the name of Gomer would clearly indicate that the story must not be taken literally, since every name, Gomer included, is an allegorical name. But that would be a rash conclusion, for the verb גִּמַּר does not have this meaning in classical Hebrew. Its use in later Hebrew in this sense is to be taken, as was said above, as a denominative form from Gomer. It was the notorious behavior of this woman that caused people to say in a similar case "they act Gomer-like." This meaning is therefore not inherent in the root, but the result of Gomer's action. That the name did originally not mean "harlot" is certain; that is merely the opinion of the glossator.

³ Professor F. Brown calls my attention to an article by Professor Budde to appear in *ZAW*, XXVI (1906), pp. 1 sqq., on "Zum Text der drei letzten kleinen Propheten," in which Professor Budde expresses quite incidentally (*Sonderabdruck*, v. 7) the view that the first person should be restored throughout in chap. 1 for the third (referring to the prophet). He cites this as illustrating his general theory that there was a redactional tendency to change *Selbstbericht* into *Fremdbericht*. He assumes therefore also that Hosea must have told the whole story himself in the first person. His position is not essentially different from the one expressed above; it only goes a step further in the explanation of the third

there is really no argument, as Dr. Harper well observes, that is convincing for regarding chap. 3 as a later addition; surely an interpolator would hardly have dared to write such a chapter in such a way.

Now, chap. 3 presupposes Hosea's discovery of the faithlessness of his wife. No record remains telling when he made the terrible discovery. Different hypotheses have been advanced, but it appears most plausible that he discovered it after the birth of his three children; for, as has been well observed, it would hardly be possible to think of Hosea as still living with Gomer as his wife and begetting children with her after he knew that she was unfaithful. That would be contrary to all Israelitish custom. And it is certainly not justifiable to press the meaning of the names of the second and third children so as to extract from them the meaning that Hosea knew at the time of the birth of his second child, or even of his third, that his wife was unfaithful and that the children were not his. The direct and definite reasons given in chap. 1 why he called them by just these names and by no others contradict it. The name of the boy, Lo-'Ammi, does not indicate that he who gives the name, and thereby, according to ancient ideas, recognizes them as his own, says "Not my *kin*,"⁴ and in saying so rejects it. Isaiah's boy was called Hurry-booty-speedy-prey, not because he was so quick at the prey, but to express to the people a great lesson: the Assyrians will come quickly and take speedily the prey. So here the reason for the name is not that the boy is not his own son, but that the boy's name should be a symbol of Israel: "for ye are not my people."

The discovery of Gomer's unfaithfulness lies therefore between chap. 1 and chap. 3; for chap. 3 assumes it, and chap. 1 gives no hint that Hosea knows anything of it till after the birth of his three children.

person in chap. 3. The results arrived at above in regard to 1:2b, and later in regard to 3:2, are not invalidated by Professor Budde's theory. It simplifies the point made above, that the story in chap. 1, though not given in Hosea's own words, goes back to Hosea himself, as far as the facts related in it are concerned; for it restores Hosea's own words simply by changing the third person into the first.

⁴ It is said that לֹא-עַמִּי is to be translated "not my *kin*," i. e., "not my son." But in the corresponding explanation in vs. 9b, "for ye are not my people," it is to be translated "my *people*." And the significance of the name for the people must be that it will perpetually recall to them Jahve's message through Hosea. If they asked why Hosea called his son Lo-'Ammi, the answer must always have been, because he believes that Jahve calls Israel Lo-'Ammi. He certainly did not mean that the answer should, or even might, be because the boy is a bastard. That would have spoiled the symbolic significance for the people. Moreover the linguistic question also comes up: Is עַמִּי really equivalent to בֶּן-עַמִּי (cf. Gen. 19:38)? The latter means "not my kinsman;" does the former also?

That we have in chap. 3 the same woman as in chap. 1 is the only reasonable position. Hosea is commanded to love the woman *still* (עַד does not mean here "again," but "still"), in spite of her awful sin—an unheard-of command in Israel, where adulteresses were put to death. Notice that he is to *love* her still, not to marry her, which shows that she is the same woman. This is different from chap. 1, where he is commanded to take, to marry, a wife. The fact that a divine command had to be given to Hosea shows that he was conscious that he would never have done this of himself; in fact, that he had intended to do something entirely different with Gomer. His marriage relation is to become, as he now learns, in a much deeper sense than he had ever thought, the symbol of the relation of Jahve and Israel. It becomes clear to him that Jahve is in an entirely similar position with Israel. Israel is his wife, and she also is unfaithful. Hosea could not but believe that Jahve would cast her off; in fact, he had proclaimed this message for years, as the names of his children show: Jahve is utterly righteous; he cannot tolerate such terrible infidelity as Israel shows; he must punish her; he must cast her away and have nothing to do with her any more. Hosea is a prophet of doom!

But now comes the unheard-of message: Jahve loves Israel still; he cannot bear to cast her off forever. And Hosea is to symbolize in his life, hard as it may be, this deathless love in spite of cruel unfaithfulness: love Gomer still, for Jahve loves Israel still in spite of her sin! The love of God is to become incarnate in Hosea.

It has been claimed above that the only reasonable position is to regard the woman in chaps. 1 and 3 as the same, *i. e.* Gomer. But it is pointed out that Jahve does not say "*this* woman," but simply "*a* woman," and it is asked how this woman is connected with the one in chap. 1. It is to be observed that the whole stress in this verse, 3:1, lies on "love," and on "still." Notice the emphatic position of עַד! It is not said, "*take* (marry) a woman," but, "*still love* a woman;" a woman, therefore, whom you have loved before. Go on loving her, even though she be such a one as "loves another and is an adulteress"! The love is not something new; he is to love her still; the new element is the kind of woman that he must love even now that he knows

⁵ We must punctuate following the LXX ἀγαπῶσαν אֶהְיֶה. Marti.

that she is an adulteress. And thus quite naturally it was more necessary to emphasize the kind of a woman he is to love, such a one as loves another and is an adulteress, than to emphasize that it is Gomer whom he must still love by saying "*this* woman;" for we are not led to suppose by anything whatsoever that he had *loved*, before this command in 3:1 comes, another woman whom he is to go on loving; it is the same Gomer whom he had loved, and yet not the same kind of woman, for she is an adulteress. The "love" and the "still" are thus the connecting link between chaps. 1 and 3.⁶

Verse 2 tells us that Hosea bought her for a certain price, and some uncertain conclusions have been drawn from this: *e. g.*, that Hosea had cast her off, and that she had fallen into the hands of a slaveholder, whose concubine she had become. All this is unfounded. The real solution of the difficulty created by this verse seems to me to be in line with the observation made above, that we have here Hosea himself telling the story in the first person, in which he must have told the whole of it. This verse appears to me to belong to the beginning of the story, which we have from another now in chap. 1. It told how Hosea executed Jahve's original command to take a wife, how he went and acquired Gomer for his wife by giving as the marriage settlement fifteen shekels of silver and one and a half homer of barley.⁷ It must therefore have stood in Hosea's own story after the command in 1:2.⁸

It has been noticed that we are not told to whom vss. 4 *sq.* of chap. 3 are addressed; for, as the text now stands, vs. 3 is spoken by Hosea to Gomer. But the verses are clearly part of the divine message to Hosea. They explain to him why he should treat his wife in this fashion. If this is so—and how it can be otherwise is not easy to see—the analogy of 3:1, as well as of

⁶ All this furnishes an additional argument for regarding 1:2*b* as not original.

⁷ That he paid part in coin and part in kind may indicate that Hosea was poor, so that even this may have been a large sum for him. He mentions it because he wishes to show that Gomer was procured in the ordinary way, and that she became his legitimate wife by the payment of the *mohar*. Commentators have figured out that the whole amount would be equivalent to thirty shekels of silver, and have expressed surprise that Hosea should have paid for her only as much as is paid for a slave (Exod. 21:32). But it is interesting to notice that we have a striking parallel to this in the Code of Hammurabi. In § 252, which corresponds exactly to Exod. 21:32, the price for a slave is fixed at one-third of a mana of silver. In § 139 the *tirhatu*, or marriage settlement (= *mohar*), is legally fixed at one mana of silver, but in § 140 it is declared to be only one-third of a mana of silver for a *muškenu*, *i. e.*, for one of the poorer classes. In other words, for a *muškenu* the amount of the *mohar* is the same as the price for a slave. Exactly as we find it in Hosea's case.

⁸ If Professor Budde's theory is adopted, it would naturally find its place after 1:3*a*.

1:4, 6, 9, shows that vs. 3 must really also be part of Jahve's command; for Jahve explains here and gives reasons for the behavior of Hosea toward the woman, as it is described in vs. 3.⁹ We must therefore read, without changing the consonantal text at all, "*and say* (imperative!) *unto her . . .*" The Massorites punctuated "and I said" because of vs. 2. But vs. 2 is not in its original place here, for which assertion this point is an additional argument.

Jahve then tells Hosea in vs. 3 that he is to speak earnestly to Gomer, telling her that he will keep her in confinement so that she will have no chance to see her paramour, but that he will still be her own. The **וְגַם־אֲנִי** does not mean "and I also," but the **גַּם** makes the **אֲנִי** emphatic, thus giving it an affirmative or even adversative meaning (*cf.*, *e. g.*, Mal. 2:9), which it has especially after a preceding negative (*cf.*, *e. g.*, 2 Sam. 12:13, 14). Ewald's "gleichwohl bleibe *ich* dir gut" is therefore the real interpretation. The text is quite correct and must not be changed. The "yet I, on my part am thine" corresponds to the "love" in vs. 1. If this were not the real interpretation, the command to love her still, which is the great point in vs. 1, would find no expression in Hosea's words to Gomer.

The story breaks off here. We are not told what Hosea did. But there can be no doubt that he obeyed the divine command. His book makes it clear that he also tried, just as earnestly as Jahve, to woo back the love of his erring wife. It is really in the nature of the purpose of his book that we are not told with what success, for his experience has become symbolic of Jahve's experience. The prophet of doom has become the prophet of love, ever hoping for the return of love. He does not think it will be possible without taking the wife (Israel) away from the influence of the terrible temptation (3:4, 5); that must be done, for then will be Jahve's great opportunity of winning back Israel's love; then will Israel come to know Jahve and his love and grace.

⁹ Every time that Hosea is commanded to do something strange we have the reason for it immediately following: in 1:4, why he should call his first-born Jezreel; in 1:6, why he should call his daughter Lo-Ruhamah; in 1:9, why his third child Lo-'Ammi; in 3:1, why he should still love such a woman. Now, 3:4, 5 read exactly like one of these explanations that Jahve gives to Hosea, and since they correspond so closely to vs. 3, we must regard vs. 3 as giving Jahve's order telling what Hosea should do with such a woman, for which treatment the reason is supplied in vss. 4 and 5, which is ever the same: Jahve does so, too! Jahve's actions and Hosea's are to correspond. Now, all these explanations begin with **כִּי** "for," with the exception of 3:1, which reads **כִּי־אֶהְבֶּתָּ יְהוָה**. But this must originally have read **כִּי־אֶהְבֶּתִּי יְהוָה**, "for I love." The final **י** was regarded as an abbreviation for **יהוָה**, and consequently the **כ** was joined to **אהבת**.

The story of Hosea's family life is thus preserved to us only in a fragmentary form in chaps. 1 and 3. It is a question that comes unsought, but with much insistence: Why is it that chap. 2 has been placed between chaps. 1 and 3? What can it have to do with the story? We saw that chap. 3 presupposes that Hosea had different intentions with his unfaithful wife. Only by a definite divine revelation was he made to do an unheard-of thing: to love as God loves, in spite of unfaithfulness and sin. Now, Hosea must surely have told of his first intention to give point to the divine command in 3:1. May it not be that there are still some traces of Hosea's own story left in chap. 2, which have later on become obscured by being woven together with the story of Jahve and Israel?¹⁰

There are certain elements in chap. 2 which are recognized as not original (see especially W. R. Harper, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Amos and Hosea*, 1905). These are vss. 4a β , 6, 12. The tone in these verses is more decisive; punishment is definitely announced; there is no longer the plea that she put away her unfaithfulness lest something terrible happen; the divorce is definitely and categorically announced. We should perhaps add to these verses vs. 7a, for just as little as vs. 6 is addressed to the children who are to strive with their mother (vs. 4), so little is vs. 7a addressed to them, for it speaks of "their mother," not, as vs. 4, of "your mother." If we now read these verses together, we have the following remarkable statement:

- 2: 4a β She is not my wife,
And I am not her husband,
2: 6 And her children I do not pity,
Because they are children of harlotry,
1: 7a For their mother has played the harlot,
She that conceived them has done shamefully.

¹⁰ Marti tells us in his commentary on Hosea (p. 22) that Meinhold sees in 2:3 the remnant of a notice which was to connect chap. 1 with the address in 2:4 *sqq.*, and which contained the reference to Gomer's divorce. Meinhold thinks that vs. 3 read originally **אָמִי וְיִרְעָאֵל וְלֹא-עִמִּי וְלֹא-רַחֲמָהּ**, "then said I to my sons Jezreel and Lo-'Ammi and my daughter Lo-Ruhamah . . ." Just how Meinhold works out his theory I do not know, since I have not seen his book. Marti declares that he overlooks that it is Jahve who speaks in 2:4 *sqq.*, so that vs. 3, as he restores it, would not be a good introduction to 2:4 *sqq.* Now, though Marti's criticism is sound, if Meinhold has indeed overlooked this, and though the restoration of 2:3 as given by him will hardly commend itself to general approval, his general theory that we have remnants of Hosea's story in chap. 2 is not thereby disproved, however much the specific working-out of his theory may be open to criticism.

2:12 And now will I uncover her shame
 Before the eyes of her lovers,
 And no man shall save her out of my hand.

These must be Hosea's own words, telling of his determination to do with his wife as was customary with adulteresses. The first sentence, "she is not my wife and I am not her husband," reminds one of the formulas, *ul mari atta; ul abi atta; ul muti atta*, which are the terms used in legal language, and from which we may perhaps venture to conclude that the old Israelitish formula of divorce was: "Thou art not my wife and I am not thy husband." He disowns not only his wife, but also his children, and calls them children of harlotry, unable in his anger to draw the line between the mother and the children; perhaps he does now think that they are probably not his own either. But not merely disowning and divorcing, but meting out full penalty, is Hosea's intention, vs. 12. Then Jahve intervenes; his special message comes: Do not cast her away, love her still!

Surely these verses describing so vividly Hosea's intentions must have belonged originally to his own story; they are not glosses of later readers or editors, but Hosea's own words which became interwoven with the words concerning Jahve's and Israel's relations. But why were they connected with just these words? Because the verses among which they stand correspond to this stage of Hosea's feelings. They are vss. 4*aa*b, 5, 7*b*, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15.¹¹ Jahve asks the Israelites to see to it that the idolatry of the land cease; else he threatens drought and calamity. He uses the image of harlotry for idolatry. Israel has the sinful notion that the Baals have given fertility to the land. Jahve will show them by terrible experience that it was he who gave it and not they; he will lay the land waste and thus punish Israel for her nature-worship.

The rest of the chapter falls naturally into three sections: (1) vss. 8, 9; (2) vss. 16-19, 21, 22; (3) vss. 20, 23-25. The first two sections, which are parallel, speak of the efforts which Jahve will make to cause Israel to return to him. In the first he will make it impossible for her to have intercourse with her paramours, and in her despair she will turn to him again, with the conviction that it was better for her with her first husband, Jahve. In the second, Jahve will allure her into the wilderness, and there,

¹¹ 1:7; 2:1-3 are rightly regarded as later additions by practically everybody.

where they spent the time of their first love, will he woo for her love again, will he speak in winning tones to her heart; for the hope is ever fresh that she will return and be won again by him, and that the former intimate relations of love will be re-established. This leads naturally over to the material consequences of the restoration: marvelous fertility of the ground. This had been taken away by Jahve; wilderness and waste had come where fertility reigned because of Jahve's anger; but now wonderful fruitfulness of the land shall accompany the re-establishment of the true relationship of love between Jahve and Israel.

All three sections have been declared not to be original. But I think it will be seen at once that the first two fall in line with the story of Hosea's love in chap. 3. The hedging-in of Israel and her removal from all temptations to nature-worship, as well as the wooing and alluring by Jahve, correspond to Hosea's mode of treating Gomer in 3:3.¹² One is tempted to ask whether in Hosea's own story there was not also a more detailed reference to the wooing and alluring of his wife. It is not really necessary to

¹² Of the arguments against the Hosean authorship of 2:8, 9 which Dr. Harper gives on p. 236, the points that they break the connection between vss. 7 and 10, that they anticipate vs. 11, and that they differ in rhythm and strophic structure from their context, prove nothing else than that they are not in their right place. This is true. They are a fragment. But their Hosean authorship is by no means invalidated thereby. As to the assertion that they do not harmonize with 3:3, since here the "voluntary return of the woman is described, while there she is held in forcible restraint," we ask: What does vs. 8 mean, if not that she will be prevented from having intercourse with her lovers? Is this essentially different from 3:3 except in phraseology? And what else can be the possible meaning of the seclusion in 3:3 than that she may be won back again? We must not overlook that Hosea is *to love* her still; that he is therefore trying by all possible means to win her again; the punishment is not punitive but redemptive.

For the arguments against the genuineness of 2: 16, 17 compare Harper, *loc. cit.*, p. 238. (1) That they differ from the point of view expressed in vss. 11 *sqq.* is true, but it is to be remembered that the passages belong to two different periods in Hosea's preaching. (2) The different view in vs. 5 does not exclude the one in these verses. Hosea had both conceptions: (a) Jahve will take away all evidences of the supposed power of the nature-deities by turning the land into a wilderness; (b) when he tries to win back Israel, Hosea thinks of the wilderness period when Israel was faithful. Jahve will allure her thither and will try to woo for her love again under those favorable conditions when she is away from the Baals, her paramours. (3) 11:1 shows that the time of youth was a period of love. 12:4 refers to something else. Israel's present unfaithfulness has not always existed; there was a time when she was faithful. (4) It is true that the order of thought in vs. 17 is not Hosean, because for Hosea blessings could come only after repentance. The question presents itself: Shall we regard vs. 17a as not from Hosea, or as misplaced? It would be in its place after the section, and would be a good link between this section and the following; its genuineness depends on that of vss. 23 *sqq.* (5) It is certainly strange to regard the figure of allurements as a later phrase, and to refer to Ezekiel for it in a book that speaks so much of love. And, in regard to the valley of Achor, the reference is much more naturally to the time of the exodus, referred to here by "the wilderness," than to Isa. 65:10. The story of Achan and Achor must have been well known to Hosea. There Israel was purged from sin; the valley became a door of hope in consequence. (6) That the rhythm and strophic structure of these verses are different from the context simply shows that the verses do not go with vss. 4 *sqq.* This is true and has been assumed above. But it does not prove that the verses are not Hosean.

suppose that this was so, because 3:3 is sufficient. Though these sections furnish us with no remnants of Hosea's own story, they cast a light on it nevertheless: as Hosea's treatment of his wife symbolized and illustrated Jahve's treatment of Israel, so Jahve's methods of winning her back throw a light on Hosea's way of regaining his wife's love.

It is true that the third section which speaks of the wonderful fertility of the land has no corresponding point in Hosea's life. And yet it is very closely interwoven with the whole conception of Jahve's method: first the taking-away of the fertility in order to show that it is his gift not the Baalim's; then the restoration of the former relation of love which is most naturally crowned by Jahve's gift of wonderful fertility. Israel knows now Jahve and loves him, and Jahve naturally delights in giving her his choicest gifts.¹³

It is true that all three sections have their real place after chap. 3. They are, however, Hosean, standing in organic relation to Hosea's vital message. Hosea still believes that the exile will come, but the stern prophet of doom has become the prophet of love—a love that is faithful in spite of the wife's unfaithfulness; a love that punishes, but in order to redeem, to win back the old affection, to restore and to bless. Thus he is the prophet of hope—deathless hope, because he is the prophet of deathless love.

If we now attempt to sketch, on the basis of the results of our investigation, the story of Hosea's family life, we get the following:

Hosea is a prophet at the time of his marriage to Gomer bath Diblaim. He becomes in a real sense the prophet that he was to be by his marriage and its results. He names his three children by symbolical names. His family is to symbolize the relation of Jahve to Israel, at first only in the names of the children which

¹³ The only real argument brought forward by Harper, p. 244, against the genuineness of these verses would be that the materialistic blessings are not in keeping with the spirit of the teaching of Hosea, if it could be proved that the contemplation of the full restoration of Israel to Jahve's favor is not Hosean. But this is impossible in the light of chap. 3, where the hope of full restoration is implied in the continued love in spite of unfaithfulness. It is difficult to see how Hosea, who announced as punishment the turning of the land into a wilderness, and who sees in this fact the sign of the overthrow of the Baal-power, believing that the people must come to understand that it is no one but Jahve who gives them corn and wine and flax and oil and all material blessings, could fail to promise for the time of re-established love marvelous fertility and wonderful material blessings.

Of course, it is impossible to assert that vs. 20, which belongs to this section, must be original if vss. 23-25 are original. The idea of universal peace is usually regarded as belonging to later times; but if Isa. 2:4 should, after all, belong to Isaiah (or his contemporary Micah), we could not well deny this verse 20 to Hosea.

If vs. 17a, which links this section with vss. 16 *sqq.*, is placed before vss. 20, 23-25, we have no really valid argument against its genuineness.

are to be perpetual sermons to Israel. Not yet does Hosea know that his whole family life is to be a symbol of Jahve's and Israel's relation. After the birth of his third child he discovers that his wife is unfaithful. He decides to divorce her and to disown her children. As a prophet he has spoken of the casting-away of Israel by Jahve for the same reason: faithlessness. He sees in this unfaithfulness of his wife the symbol of Israel's unfaithfulness and believes that Jahve will also cast Israel away. But then comes Jahve's revelation commanding him not to divorce her, but to love her still. And as the reason for this unheard-of command Jahve declares that he also loves unfaithful Israel still. Such a love is more than human; but Jahve is God and not man. He cannot bear to cast Israel away forever (*cf.* also 11:8 *sqq.*). And with this command Jahve gives Hosea also instruction as to the mode of treatment for his wife. She shall be shut off from her lover, and Hosea is to be kind to her. Thus will Jahve also proceed with Israel. The exile comes, but through it the glad days of early love shall be restored.

The principal points on which this reconstruction depends may be summarized as follows:

1. We have the story of Hosea's marriage only in fragmentary form, and not entirely in Hosea's own words; chap. 3 is by himself, chap. 1 by a disciple.

2. 1:2*b* does not go back to Hosea, but is a later addition.

3. 3:1 עֵדָה should be translated, "*Still* go and love a woman, who loves another and is an adulteress."

4. 3:2 is not in its right place; it belongs to Hosea's own story, where it stood after the point narrated in 1:2.

5. 3:3 וְגַם אֲנִי אֵלֶיךָ should be translated, "yet I on my part am thine."

6. 2:4*aβ*, 6, 7*a*, 12 are remnants of Hosea's own story, telling of his intention to divorce his wife and disown his children, and punish the adulteress with terrible severity, which, indeed, is presupposed by the divine intervention in 3:1.

7. 2:8, 9; 2:16, 17*b*, 21, 22; 2:17*a* (20), 23–25 are Hosean, but belong really after chap. 3.

THE STRUCTURE OF OBADIAH.

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The difficulty of the little book of Obadiah is in inverse ratio to its size. It has long been the occasion of various conflicting hypotheses as to its meaning and origin. The first important contribution to a right understanding of the book was made by Ewald, to whom belongs the credit of many another first step in the path of progress in Biblical interpretation. The recognition of older and younger elements in this prophecy was Ewald's distinctive merit. To an older prophet, a contemporary of Isaiah, he assigned the first ten verses of Obadiah, which were preserved also in Jer., chap. 49, but in a less perfect form. A prophet living amid the innumerable sufferings of the captivity took up this earlier oracle and supplemented it by vss. 11-21, of which vss. 11-14, 16, 19-21 were entirely his own product, while vss. 15, 17, 18 were fragments of the older prophecy carefully worked over by the exilic prophet.

Hitzig held to the priority of the oracle as found in Jeremiah, but departed from all his predecessors in placing the origin of the Obadiah prophecy in its present form as far down as 312 B. C., at which time Antigonus sent an expedition against Petra.

Franz Delitzsch, Keil, Orelli, and Kirkpatrick maintain the unity of the prophecy, and the priority of Obadiah to Jer. 49:7-22. They find the only suitable occasion of the prophecy in connection with the attack upon Jerusalem by Philistines and Arabs in the reign of Jehoram (2 Chron. 21:16, 17).

Kuenen, followed closely by Cornill, Driver, Wildeboer, and Selbie (in Hastings' *Dictionary*), took up the suggestion of Ewald and found in vss. 1-9 an older prophecy from some unknown period before the captivity, and in vss. 10-21 an utterance from some time after 536 B. C., probably about the middle of the fifth century B. C. Obadiah and Jeremiah both used the older oracle, but Jeremiah much the more freely. The view of König (*Einleitung*) varies slightly from this in that he assigns to the early period vss. 1-10, 16a, 18, 19a, 20b, which belong to an age

prior to Amos, while the remainder was inspired by the experiences of the fall of Jerusalem and the exile. Jer. 49:7-22 simply reproduces Obadiah.

The most recent defenders of the unity of Obadiah are Norbert Peters, *Die Prophetie Obadjah's* (1892), and Albert Condamin, "L'unité d'Abdias," *Revue biblique*, Vol. IX (1900), pp. 261-68. Peters finds the occasion of the prophecy in connection with the war between Amaziah of Judah and Joash of Israel, which followed close upon Amaziah's victory over Edom. Condamin's plea for the unity rests solely upon considerations of rhythm and strophe, and does not concern itself with finding a suitable historical background for the utterance.

Wellhausen was the first to find the main dividing-point between the new and the old after vs. 14. Eliminating vss. 6, 8, 9, 12 as interpolations, he dates vss. 1-14, 15*b* in the first half of the fifth century B. C., and vss. 15*a*, 16-21 at some later time. Wellhausen's position has been sustained in all essentials by the two leading commentators of the last decade, viz., Nowack and Marti, and by Cheyne in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*.

George Adam Smith adheres to the pre-exilic date of the original prophecy, used both by Obadiah and Jeremiah. This older oracle is found in vss. 1-6, while vss. 7, 10-21 come from the days of the exile, and vss. 8, 9 "form a difficulty."

Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, Zweite Reihe, Band III (1900), pp. 425-57, gives a characteristically original and ingenious interpretation of Obadiah. The older prophecy consists of vss. 1-18, minus vss. 13, 17*b* and a few detached glosses. This oracle was given in connection with an unsuccessful revolt in Judah and Jerusalem in the reign of Darius, at which time the Edomites turned against the Jews.¹ The evidence for this revolt is furnished by a new interpretation of the book of Daniel. The remainder of the prophecy, vss. 19-21, was added some time in the Maccabean age, and probably in 63 B. C. when Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, the sons of Alexander Jannæus, were struggling for the kingdom, and Aristobulus was besieged in the temple by

¹ Nowack (p. 177), in stating that Winckler places the original prophecy in the reign of Antiochus, totally misrepresents Winckler's view. Nowack apparently did not read Winckler far enough, for on the very next page (p. 431) the latter, speaking of the age of Antiochus as a possible date, says: "Dazu kommt, dass ton und sprache des liedes kaum in eine so späte zeit weisen . . . das lied ist entstanden zwischen der erobrung durch Nebukadnezar und der durch Antiochos. Dann müsste also Jerusalem einmal in der zwischenzeit erobert worden sein." The exact time for the origin of the prophecy decided upon by Winckler is indicated on p. 455 of his discussion, and also in *KAT*.³, p. 295.

Harith and Antipater of Edom, the allies of Hyrcanus. The siege was raised upon the approach of the Roman army under Pompey.

While scholars have been thus busy with the questions of the date and unity of the book, its poetic form has not received due consideration. The only treatments of this phase of the prophecy are those of Condamin in *Revue biblique* for 1900, and Sievers, *Metrische Studien*, I (1901), pp. 478-82. Both of these ignore the results of historical criticism, proceeding on the supposition of the unity of the book. Sievers, moreover, makes no attempt to secure strophic structure, while Condamin has recourse to the generally discredited theories of D. H. Müller and Zenner, with their strophe, antistrophe, alternate strophe, responsion, and inclusion.

The present arrangement follows Wellhausen, Nowack, and Marti in regarding vss. 7*d*, 8, 9, 15*a*, 16-21 as later additions to the original prophecy. It retains vs. 6 as part of the original, with Kuenen, Driver, G. A. Smith, Winckler, *et al.* Its chief variation from previous results is in athetizing vss. 12-14. This step has been taken partly in view of the difference in the metre of these verses, which is the regular *qinah* rhythm, while the preceding and following context is in ordinary trimeter. Variations of metre within the same poem are, of course, found in both ancient and modern poetry, and Hebrew poetry furnishes several examples. But the variation here is in the middle of a prophetic discourse, is accompanied by no introductory word or statement, and is sustained through six lines. Not infrequently a passage in *qinah* movement occurs at the beginning of an address (*e. g.*, Am. 5:2 *sqq.*), or is found as the closing climax of a speech (*e. g.*, Hos. 6:7-11); and occasional lapses into this rhythm for a line or two are very common (*e. g.*, vs. 6 of this prophecy, where the dirge rhythm furnishes a fitting closing line for the strophe²); but parallels for an unannounced and extended variation such as this are wanting. Furthermore, the transition from the past to the present which these verses involve is exceedingly abrupt. The supposition that the prophet here transports himself in imagination to the period which he is describing, and details the events of that distant time in the form of deprecatory pleas to the

² Budde, *ZAW.*, Vol. II, p. 34, makes the *qinah* extend also through vs. 7, but this involves the acceptance of the division of the verse as found in the Massoretic accentuation; see below, note 13.

foe, is at the best forced and unnatural, and without a parallel in the Old Testament. Nor is it possible to render לֹא with the imperfect in the sense, "thou shouldst not have, etc.," for לֹא can only refer to the present or future, except in the few cases in which it has assumed the functions of אֵל with a historical tense, and such an interpretation is clearly out of the question here. The passage is most naturally taken as the utterance of a participant in the conditions it sets forth, and as such it has no place as a part of the original oracle. It is wholly lacking in data which would fix the time of its origin more definitely. It may have been occasioned by some devastation of Jerusalem during the Persian or Greek age, record of which has not been preserved. It might even be older than the prophecy in which it is now incorporated, and its absence from Jeremiah's version of that prophecy would not militate seriously against such a supposition.

The book as a whole is thus constituted of three elements: A, The Vision of Obadiah concerning Edom, vss. 1-7c, 10, 11, 15b; B, A Protest against the Unbrotherly Conduct of Edom, vss. 12-14; C, The Coming Triumph of Israel over All its Foes, vss. 15a, 16-21; and the fragment, vss. 8-9, of which a variant appears in Jer. 49:7.³ These three elements are not vitally related one to another. They differ in form, in thought, in point of view, and in spirit. Their only bond of union is that they all arose out of the same general cause, viz., Edom's cruel treatment of Israel.

A is composed of five six-line trimeter strophes. The movement of the thought is very clear: Strophe I describes the sending-forth of Yahweh's decree against Edom and her resulting humiliation. Strophe II pictures the former arrogance of Edom which would set even Yahweh at defiance. Strophe III narrates in detail the present utter desolation of Edom. Strophe IV contrasts the treachery of Edom's allies with Edom's own treacherous treatment of Israel. Strophe V recalls the details of Edom's former cruelty to Israel and closes with the climax, "thy

³ Vss. 8 and 9 form a five-line strophe, thus varying from the context, made up of six-line strophes, in form as well as suddenly transferring the thought from the present, actually existing condition to the future Day of Yahweh. The text runs:

8 הָלוֹא בְיוֹם הַהוּא נִאֲסִיחָהּ
וְהִאֲבֵרְתִּי חֲכָמִים מֵאֲדוֹם
וְתִבְנֶה מֵהָר עֵשׂוּ
9 וְחָתָן גְּבוּרִיד תִּרְמָן
לְמַעַן יִכְרַתְדָּאִישׁ מֵהָר עֵשׂוּ

deed now returns upon thine own head." B forms only one six-line strophe in *qinah* or pentameter movement. C falls into three strophes of four, eight, and eight lines respectively. The rhythm is rough and broken, varying between trimeter and tetrameter, and in this respect the section departs widely from the smooth, regular movement of both A and B.

A. THE VISION OF OBADIAH CONCERNING EDMOM.

חזון עבדיה

לֹאדֹם ⁴		
שְׁמוּעָה שָׁמַעְנוּ מֵאֵת יְהוָה	1	I
וְצִיר בְּגוֹיִם שָׁלַח		
הַתִּקְבְּצוּ וּבֹאוּ עֲלֵיהָ ⁵		
וְקוּמוּ לְמַלְחָמָה		
הִנֵּה קָטָן נִתְחַד בְּגוֹיִם	2	
בְּזוּי אֶתָּה בְּאִדָּם ⁶		
זֶהוּן לְבַךְ הַשִּׁיאֵךְ	3	II
שִׁכְנִי בַחֲגוּרֵי סֹלֶעַ		
חֹפְשִׁי ⁷ מִרוֹם גִּבְעָה ⁸		
אִמְרָ בְּלִבִּי מִיִּיּוֹרְדֵי אֲרֶץ		
אִסִּיתִּגְבִּיהָ כְּנֹשֶׁר ⁹ קֶנֶךְ	4	
מִשֶּׁם אֲוִירֶךְ נִאֲסִי־הוֹרָה		

⁴ לֹאדֹם כֹּה אִמְרָ אֲדֹנִי יְהוָה is probably a later element in the superscription, as appears from the variant in Jer. $\text{לֹאדֹם כֹּה אִמְרָ יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת}$, and from the inappropriateness of such an expression as $\text{שְׁמוּעָה שָׁמַעְנוּ}$, or even $\text{שְׁמוּעָה שָׁמַעְתִּי}$ (Jer. 49:14), in the mouth of Yahweh; so Selbie, Marti, *et al*; cf. Nowack.

⁵ This and the following line are taken from Jer. 49:14, where the original form seems to have been better preserved. The line in Obad. $\text{קוּמוּ וְנִקְוִימָה עֲלֵיהָ לְמַלְחָמָה}$ is too long, is repetitious, and lacks the descriptive quality of the lines in Jeremiah. וְנִקְוִימָה seems to be agloss suggested by שָׁמַעְנוּ of l. 1; it is unsuitable in the mouth of a messenger (so Hitzig). Cf. Sievers. The reading עָלֶיהָ (Wellhausen, Nowack, Duhm, Marti) is unnecessary.

⁶ לֹאדֹם בְּזוּי אֶתָּה מֵאִדָּם. Jer. 49:15 בְּזוּי בְּאִדָּם is required as a parallel for בְּגוֹיִם (Nowack, Selbie, Marti), and אֶתָּה is necessary to the metre (*contra* Sievers).

⁷ So Jer. 49:16. This is required as a parallel to שִׁכְנִי ; moreover, it completes the metre and the sense of l. 3. So Wellhausen, Nowack, Sievers, and Selbie.

⁸ This word, preserved in Jer. 49:16, seems preferable to שִׁבְתִּי , the reading in Obad., because it makes the traditional pointing מִרוֹם intelligible, it furnishes a better parallel for סֹלֶעַ , and it seems to have suggested the term תִּגְבִּיהָ in l. 5.

⁹ The Obad. version inserts here: $\text{וְאֵם בֵּין כּוֹכְבִּים}$ [ת]שִׁים, but this is lacking in Jer. 49:16, is superfluous to the metre, and its presence leaves תִּגְבִּיהָ without an object. Cf. Sievers.

אם בצרים באו לך	¹⁰ 5b	III
הלוא ישאירו עללות		
אם גנבים בלילה ¹¹	5a	
הלוא יגנבו דים ¹²		
איך נחפשו עשו	6	
נבעו מצפוניו		
עד הגבול שלהוך	7	IV
כל אנשי בריחך השיאוך ¹³		
יכלו לך אנשי שלמך ¹⁴		
ישימו מזור תחתך ¹⁵		
מחמס אחיך תנסך בושח ¹⁶	10	
ונכרתה לעולם		
ביום עמודך מנגד ¹⁷	11	V
ונכרים באו שערו		
ועל־ירושלם ידו גורל		
גם־אתה כאחד מהם		
כאשר עשית יעשה לך	15b	
גמלך ישוב בראשך		

¹⁰ This transposition of vs. 5b is found in Jer. 49:9, and is required by the reconstruction of the lines here adopted. So Sievers.

¹¹ So Jer. 49:9. In Obad. the text runs:

אם גנבים באו לך
אם שודדי לילה

But באו לך is a dittograph from vs. 5b (so Sievers), and אם שודדי is a gloss or variant to אם גנבים (so G. A. Smith and Sievers). Wellhausen, Nowack, Selbie, Cheyne, and Marti retain אם שודדי לילה, but omit the entire line, disregarding the reading in Jeremiah.

¹² איך נדמיתה is omitted as a gloss, with Wellhausen, Condamin, Sievers, Cheyne, and Marti.

¹³ השיאוך belongs with the preceding context (so G, S, and most modern commentators), rather than with the following as in אט.

¹⁴ לחמך of אט is lacking in G, and is to be omitted as a corrupt dittograph of שלמך; so Wellhausen, G. A. Smith, Sievers, Selbie, Marti, *et al.*

¹⁵ אט adds אין תבונה בו, which is a marginal note (so Nowack, Cheyne, Marti, *et al.*) probably suggested by vs. 8. Cf. Winckler's proposal to read תבוא and transpose the clause to follow מצפוניו of vs. 6b.

¹⁶ מקטל of vs. 9 belongs to vs. 10 (so G, and nearly all interpreters), and with יעקב constituted a marginal note on מחמס אחיך; when incorporated in the text it was forced apart to admit מחמס אחיך within it (so Sievers). Nowack, Selbie, and Marti drop מקטל, but the retention of יעקב makes the line too long.

¹⁷ אט contains another line here: ביום שבות זרים הילך; but the thought of this line is prematurely introduced, the carrying away of spoil must follow the entrance into the gates, and the division of the booty. It sounds like a prosaic marginal note.

B. A PROTEST AGAINST EDM'S UNBROTHERLY CONDUCT.

- 13a אֶל־תְּבוּאָה בְּשַׁעַר עַמִּי || בְּיוֹם אִדָּם
 12a וְאֵל תִּרְאָה בְּאַחֶיךָ¹⁸ || בְּיוֹם נִכְרְתוּ¹⁹
 12c וְאֵל תִּגְדֹּל פִּיךָ || בְּיוֹם צִרָה
 13c וְאֵל תִּשְׁלַח־נָא²⁰ בְּחִילוֹ || בְּיוֹם אֲבָדָם²¹
 14 וְאֶל־תַּעֲמִיד עַל הַפֶּרֶק || לַחֲכִרִית אֶת־פְּלִיטוֹ
 וְאֶל־תִּסָּגֵר שְׂרִידָיו || בְּיוֹם צִרָה

C. ISRAEL'S APPROACHING TRIUMPH.

- 15a מִי־קִרְבֹּב יוֹם־יִהְיֶה עַל־כְּלִי־הַגֵּוִים I
 16 כִּי כֹאשֶׁר שְׁתִּיתָם עַל־יָדֶיךָ קִדְשִׁי
 יִשְׁתּוּ כְּלִי־הַגֵּוִים תַּמִּיד
 וְשִׁתּוּ וְנָעוּ²² וְהָיוּ כְּלוֹא הָיוּ
 17 וּבַהֲרָ צִיּוֹן תִּהְיֶה פְּלִיטָה²³ II
 וִירְשׁוּ²⁴ אֶת מוֹרְשֵׁיהֶם
 18 וְהָיָה בֵּית יַעֲקֹב אֵשׁ
 וּבֵית יוֹסֵף לַחֲבֵה
 וּבֵית עֲשׂוֹ לֶקֶשׁ
 וּדְלָקוּ בָהֶם וְאָכְלוּם
 וְלֹא־יִהְיֶה שְׂרִיד לְבֵית עֲשׂוֹ
 כִּי יִהְיֶה דָבָר

¹⁸ Vss. 12 and 13 seem to be variants of an earlier common text (so Winckler, Marti). Vs. 13b (אֶל־תִּרְאָה גַם־אֶתָּה בְּרַעְתּוֹ) is only another form of vs. 12a, while vs. 12b (וְאֵל תִּרְאָה בְּאַחֶיךָ) is a prosaic repetition of vs. 12c. Wellhausen and Nowack omit vs. 12 entirely as a gloss. In vs. 12a בְּיוֹם אִדָּם is clearly a dittograph (so Winckler, Nowack, and Marti).

¹⁹ נִכְרְתוּ. As above, Winckler, who cites the parallel infinitive אֲבָדָם of vs. 12b in support of the change. נִכְרְתוּ is ἀπαξ λεγόμενον. E renders the last word of the variant line (vs. 13b) by ἀλέθρον αὐτῶν, and this is the only occurrence in the Old Testament of ἀλέθρος as an equivalent of אִיד, which now stands in אִיד of vs. 13b. However, ἀλεθρεύειν is the rendering for כָּרַת in Judg. 6:25, 28, 30 and Numb. 4:18. Hence E's rendering of אִיד in vs. 13b and the נִכְרְתוּ of vs. 12a point to the Niph'al infinitive נִכְרְתוּ as the original reading.

²⁰ תִּשְׁלַח־נָא. Ewald, Olshausen, Wellhausen, König, Nowack, Selbie, Marti, et al. read תִּשְׁלַח־נָא, which Oort (*Textus Hebraici Emendationes*, 1900) modifies to תִּשְׁלַח־נָא. But the reading adopted here is much easier and is subject to no serious objections. Judg. 19:23 furnishes a case of נָא attached to the verb as here, rather than to אֵל, as is more customary; and תִּשְׁלַח־נָא in the sense of יִרְשׁוּ occurs in 2 Sam. 6:6; 22:17 (= Ps. 18:17). See N. Peters, *Die Prophetie Obadiah's* (1892), p. 98.

²¹ אֲבָדָם. E ἀπώλειαν αὐτῶν, exactly as in vs. 12b, where the text is אֲבָדָם; so also Winckler and Nowack. Marti, אֲבָדָם.

²² וְשִׁתּוּ. As above: Wellhausen, Nowack, G. A. Smith, Condamin, Selbie, Marti, et al. Sievers omits it as a gloss. The line is too long, and might easily be lightened by treating וְשִׁתּוּ as a dittograph from the preceding line. But that the two lines began with the same word as far back as the time of the Greek translation is rendered probable by the fact that Codex Vaticanus of E omits l. 3 completely.

²³ אִיד adds וְהָיָה קִדְשִׁי, which seems to be a marginal note; cf. Winckler.

²⁴ אִיד adds בֵּית יַעֲקֹב, which is probably a repetition from the following line.

- 19 וירשו הנגב²⁵ והשפלה²⁶ III
 וירשו את שדה אפרים²⁷
 ובנימין את הגלעד
 20 וגלת החל־הזה לבני ישראל²⁸
 וגלת ירושלם אשר בספרד
 ירשו את ערי הנגב
 21 ועלו מושעים בהר ציון²⁹
 והיתה ליהודה המלוכה

²⁵ $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{T}$ adds את־הר עשו, which is treated as a gloss by Wellhausen, Nowack Sievers, Cheyne, Marti, *et al.*

²⁶ $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{T}$ adds את־פלשתים, a gloss; so also the scholars cited in note 24.

²⁷ ואת שדה שמרון of $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{T}$ seems to be a gloss; so Marti.

²⁸ $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{T}$ אשר כנענים עד צרפת is a corrupt gloss.

²⁹ $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{T}$ adds לשפט את־הר עשו, a gloss; so Marti. The text of vss. 19c-21 is incurably corrupt.

TERRA-COTTA VASES FROM BISMYA.

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The mounds of Bismya abound in terra-cotta vases, both fragmentary and entire. In places upon the surface the potsherds are strewn so thickly that the ground beneath is invisible. Below the surface, on the slopes of the higher mounds, the houselike tombs of unbaked bricks contained from one to twenty vases each. Everywhere in the dirt the workmen came upon vases concealed with contents once valuable to the owner; in one was a collection of twenty-seven tablets. In the old wells, in the vertical drains, in the corners of the houses, in the plain at the foot of the mounds, in a shaft sunk from the summit of the temple hill, through platforms of temples constructed by Dungi, Ur-Gur, Naram-Sin, Sargon, and by earlier kings whose names are unknown, and through several strata of more ancient ruins, vases appeared. Eight and a half meters below the surface, or five meters below the level of the platform constructed 4500 B. C., were two large burial urns; two meters lower was a smaller one; and 13.20 meters from the surface, on the sand of the desert level, was a thick layer of the fragments of the earliest pottery known. Fully a thousand vases, in a condition more or less perfect, were excavated at Bismya.

In size the vases varied. One, less than two centimeters high, is so minute that it resembles the cup of a child's toy tea-set; at its sides are two minute handles pierced with holes. Others, like reservoirs for the storage of water, or huge burial urns, are nearly a meter in height. In shape they vary as greatly as in size. Some, as Nos. 17, 19, 34, and 35, possess all the grace of the products of the Greek potter. Several have pointed bases that they may stand erect in the dirt, or be placed in a wooden frame, as the modern Bagdad water-jar. Very few, as Nos. 1 and 16, which were provided with handles or projections pierced with small holes, were probably suspended in the temple. Still fewer of the vases are decorated. No. 8, a form discovered in various sizes, has running about it several coils resembling a rope.

No. 6 represents a vase built up of different rings like a pocket drinking-cup, and a few others, as Nos. 1, 37, and 47, are decorated with grooves. No. 23, which is of well-kneaded clay, burned black, is decorated with a series of circles, dots, and squares. Nos. 43 and 48, two large thin-walled vases found near the surface, bear the black marks of their makers or owners, apparently painted with a composition of bitumen. From the general appearance of these two vases, their location when found, and the marks which resemble similar marks upon late bricks, I am inclined to believe that they are post-Babylonian. It may be said that the chief decoration of the Babylonian vase was its form. No. 16 is in the shape of a boat; No. 31, a small terracotta lamp, terminates in the head of an ox; while Nos. 19, 22, 40, 41, and 51 are in form exact duplicates of vases now manufactured in Bagdad.

The Babylonian vase was sometimes provided with a cover consisting of a baked clay disk about fifteen centimeters in diameter. In the center is a small knob pierced with a hole to admit the air; the knob prevented the dust which might accumulate upon the cover from falling easily within. Frequently, when a vase was buried, a finely woven cloth was fastened over its mouth, and then sealed with soft clay. Although the cloth has long perished, the impressions of its threads are still visible upon the clay. No. 53, a funeral urn, is covered with a dish resembling an inverted soup plate.

The material from which the vases were made was the common clay found in most parts of alluvial Mesopotamia. The extent to which it was kneaded varied greatly, probably depending upon the use for which the vase was intended. In the larger, coarser jars and burial urns, finely cut straw was mixed with the clay. From the study of Bismya pottery it is evident that a wheel was employed at every period, yet all of the vases were not turned. No. 43, a form reconstructed from several fragments from the lowest strata of the temple hill, and which therefore dates several millenniums before 4500 B. C., has the appearance of having been formed by placing the clay upon a flat surface, and while the potter shaped it with one hand, he turned the board or flat stone, whatever it was upon which it rested, with the other. This was probably the origin of the potter's wheel; it was but a matter of time when an arrangement was attached to the



board that it might be turned with the feet. Nos. 14 and 15, a common form of the cup of 4500 B. C. and later, bear distinct evidences of the wheel. A peculiarity of the wheel-turned vases is a rough base left as when broken away from the board. Nos. 8, 6, 36, 38, and 49 were built up by hand, either because of the unusual size of some of them, or because a board or stone, the primitive wheel, was not at hand. Some vases, as Nos. 16, 31, 46, and 52, must of necessity, on account of their forms, have been built up.

The prevailing color of the pottery is a yellowish brown, sometimes tinged with green or pink. The clays of Babylonia, when baked, give a variety of beautiful tints. Some of the vases found in the temple shaft were colored on the exterior with a vivid red; yet as a rule it may be said that in the very earliest times the pottery was baked to a deep-brown or black color.

The uses to which the various vases were put is difficult to determine. No. 31 is a lamp. No. 29 is an *ibrik* for washing the hands, identical in form and size with those still used in Babylonia. Nos. 14 and 15 are early drinking-cups, and No. 9 is a drinking-cup of a later period. No. 5 was used for some purpose in the temple service. No. 10 was probably a plate for food. Nos. 6 and 8, when large, were used for the storage of water and grain. Nos. 27, 33, 42, 44, 51, and probably several others, were burial urns. No. 52 is the coffin of a small child of a very late period; while No. 46, which is divided into four compartments, was apparently used for household purposes. Nos. 22 and 23 were probably the common water-jars, yet these and other vases of nearly every form and size were placed in the late Babylonian graves to contain the food and the drink for the dead.

DIMENSIONS OF VASES.

	Height	Length		Height	Length
1. . . .	18 cm.		11. . . .	12 cm.	
2. . . .	51		12. . . .	4	
3. . . .	15		13. . . .	12	
4. . . .	20		14. . . .	9	
5. . . .	45.5		15. . . .	3	
6. . . .	In various sizes.		16. . . .	4	9 cm.
7. . . .	22 cm.		17. . . .	7.5	
8. . . .	In various sizes.		18. . . .	Diameter 13 cm.	
9. . . .	" " "		19. . . .	Height 32 cm.	
10. . . .	3 cm.				

DIMENSIONS OF VASES—CONTINUED.

	Height	Length		Height	Length
20. . . .	24 cm.		37. . . .	11.5 cm.	
21. . . .	8		38. . . .	10.5	
22. . . .	9		39. . . .	7	
23. . . .	16.5		40. . . .	9	
24. . . .	12		41. . . .	10	
25. . . .	10		42. . . .	25	
26. . . .	6		43. . . .	21	
27. . . .	20		44. . . .	8	
28. . . .	9		45. . . .	In various dimensions	
29. . . .	25		46. . . .	18 cm.	
30. . . .	30		47. . . .	29	
31. . . .	3.5	7 cm.	48. . . .	26	
32. . . .	8		49. . . .	76	
33. . . .	8		50. . . .	29	
34. . . .	29		51. . . .	37	
35. . . .	20		52. . . .	12	40 cm.
36. . . .	8		53. . . .	24	

THE TURKOMAN DEFEAT AT CAIRO.

BY SOLOMON BEN JOSEPH HA-KOHEN.

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES.

BY JULIUS H. GREENSTONE.*

THE MANUSCRIPT.

The fragment presented in this monograph is from the Schechter-Taylor collection of the Cambridge University Library, No. 174; size 24.3×9.1 cm. The writing (text without margin) measures 23.5×8 cm. It is one of the Genizah fragments lately¹ unearthed by Professor Solomon Schechter in a ruined synagogue in Cairo, Egypt. It consists of one leaf, written on both sides of the paper, each page being divided into two columns. The writing is in an old, square hand, with a strong turn to the cursive (Rashi script). The whole appears to have been written by one man with the same ink, although some of the vowels, as well as a few minor additions, seem to have been added later in a paler ink. The fragment as a whole is well preserved; the writing is clear; the paper, while somewhat yellowish and broken in folding, escaped the destructive hand of time and presents a fine appearance, as will be seen from the accompanying photograph.

This fragment is not the original composition. It is a copy made either by the author himself or by someone else. This is indicated by the transposition of a few lines which the copyist placed in the wrong place and then, by explicit directions, indicated where the misplaced lines really belonged. L. 93, for example, is placed between ll. 99 and 100, and the copyist, by clear and unmistakable signs (כלל ומרצחים) to succeed the line beginning with the word (ומרצחים), indicates the reinsertion of the line in its proper place. The same is the case with l. 110, which is placed here between ll. 105 and 106, because there was a little room left; but the direction is given that it is to follow the line

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beginning with the word לְכֹדֶה below (אֲסֻפֵּל). L. 146 is placed at the end of the poem, because the copyist omitted it from its proper position. Ll. 120 and 121 are transposed, and are indicated as being so by the letters ב and נ added at the beginning of the lines. The last line, which contains the number of lines in the poem, is probably an addition of the copyist.

On the margin, between ll. 145 and 147, there is inserted the word שְׁלֵמָה, in a paler ink, but apparently by the same hand. This is probably of no particular significance. The word שֶׁבֶט seems to have been tampered with, but all indications point to the fact that the erasure as well as the correction was done by the same hand.

The manuscript is provided with vowel-points and other diacritical signs in a few places only, where the reading would otherwise not have been very clear. Thus, the וּ and the וֹ are frequently indicated. The aspirate sounds of גּ, דּ, כּ, תּ, are indicated by a line over the letter.² The נּ and the רּ are most frequently so indicated, the כּ only twice (ll. 128, 129), ךּ once (l. 70), the תּ twice (ll. 3, 111). There is no instance of the בּ and פּ being indicated as aspirates. This, however, may be entirely accidental and does not warrant the conclusion that these letters were not aspirated. All the vowel-signs, known to us at present, ךּ, ךּ, ךּ, ךּ, ךּ, ךּ, ךּ, as well as the Sheva ךּ, occur in this fragment. Once the Pataḥ occurs in the form of a vertical line under the letter, after the Arabic long Faṭḥa over the letter, but here (l. 4) the vowel happens to be short. Peculiar is the combination of the short ךּ with the long ךּ, the first to indicate that the vowel is short, and the second serving merely as a sign for the vowel *u*.

The Arabic inscription on the second page was probably written before the paper was used for the poem. The writer of the Hebrew poem made use of a sheet that he found, leaving vacant the space occupied by the Arabic. Otherwise there would have been no reason for his leaving the spaces in the middle of cols. 3 and 4. The Arabic inscription itself is unintelligible. It is evident that the sheet was cut off from a larger sheet, the Arabic words being a continuation of the larger sheet.

והיה זה ויהי ימים זאת האנשים
ובזום ושלום וידעום בדרך יום
וגם באו הראשונים בדואים ענינים
פעם מלך מצאויח ויום מלך בטתומים
וגם ענה למיכאל וקיוצם בקדומים
ועלם למיכאל ולפא לב העלמים
אשר היו בשכורים ורוח וחס נעמים
יש מהם נחמדם ויש מהם נעמים
ופנס מלך כרבעם היה נאבט חומים
ונעלם מלך כרבעם לחיות ולבד מים
והנשאר באיוותם וחולעו וחס רמס
וגם מלך חזקיהו חמרים חמרים עננים
לחיות ולחורף ולחמרים ולחמרים
וזה מלך חמרים חמרים חמרים חמרים

לחיות ולחורף ולחמרים ולחמרים

והיה זה ויהי ימים זאת האנשים
ובזום ושלום וידעום בדרך יום
וגם באו הראשונים בדואים ענינים
פעם מלך מצאויח ויום מלך בטתומים
וגם ענה למיכאל וקיוצם בקדומים
ועלם למיכאל ולפא לב העלמים
אשר היו בשכורים ורוח וחס נעמים
יש מהם נחמדם ויש מהם נעמים
ופנס מלך כרבעם היה נאבט חומים
ונעלם מלך כרבעם לחיות ולבד מים
והנשאר באיוותם וחולעו וחס רמס
וגם מלך חזקיהו חמרים חמרים עננים
לחיות ולחורף ולחמרים ולחמרים
וזה מלך חמרים חמרים חמרים חמרים

לחיות ולחורף ולחמרים ולחמרים

והיה זה ויהי ימים זאת האנשים
ובזום ושלום וידעום בדרך יום
וגם באו הראשונים בדואים ענינים
פעם מלך מצאויח ויום מלך בטתומים
וגם ענה למיכאל וקיוצם בקדומים
ועלם למיכאל ולפא לב העלמים
אשר היו בשכורים ורוח וחס נעמים
יש מהם נחמדם ויש מהם נעמים
ופנס מלך כרבעם היה נאבט חומים
ונעלם מלך כרבעם לחיות ולבד מים
והנשאר באיוותם וחולעו וחס רמס
וגם מלך חזקיהו חמרים חמרים עננים
לחיות ולחורף ולחמרים ולחמרים
וזה מלך חמרים חמרים חמרים חמרים

לחיות ולחורף ולחמרים ולחמרים

והיה זה ויהי ימים זאת האנשים
ובזום ושלום וידעום בדרך יום
וגם באו הראשונים בדואים ענינים
פעם מלך מצאויח ויום מלך בטתומים
וגם ענה למיכאל וקיוצם בקדומים
ועלם למיכאל ולפא לב העלמים
אשר היו בשכורים ורוח וחס נעמים
יש מהם נחמדם ויש מהם נעמים
ופנס מלך כרבעם היה נאבט חומים
ונעלם מלך כרבעם לחיות ולבד מים
והנשאר באיוותם וחולעו וחס רמס
וגם מלך חזקיהו חמרים חמרים עננים
לחיות ולחורף ולחמרים ולחמרים
וזה מלך חמרים חמרים חמרים חמרים

לחיות ולחורף ולחמרים ולחמרים

HISTORICAL SKETCH.³

Al-Mustanşir b'Illahi Abu Tammîm Ma'add, the eighth Fatimide caliph of Egypt, was one of the weakest and most effeminate of the rulers who claimed descent from 'Ali and Fatima. His long reign over Egypt, Syria, and Palestine (427-87 A. H., 1035-94 C. E.), the longest reign ever enjoyed by an oriental ruler, was marked with "events and incidents most shameful."⁴ The intrigues of his mother, a negro slave, presented to his father, al-Dâhir, by Abu Sa'd Sahl ibn Harûn, a Jewish merchant, brought great misfortune to the people of Egypt, and was the cause of a revolt of the Turkish soldiers under Naşir ad-Daula, which, for a time, threatened the complete overthrow of the Fatimide dynasty and the establishment of the Abasside rule in Egypt and Syria. The rise of the power of the Turkoman tribes under Tugrul Beg, Alp Arslan, and Malik Shah, who were faithful adherents of the orthodox Abasside caliph of Bagdad, favored such a change, and it was only through the wisdom and foresight of the vizier, Badr al-Jamâli, that this was partly obviated. The end of Mustanşir's reign saw Damascus and the greater part of Palestine go over into the hands of the Turkomans, who later became the rulers of the whole of Asia Minor.

Tugrul Beg died soon after he succeeded in establishing peace in the provinces of the Abasside caliph, Al-Ḳaim, and in vanquishing the rebellious general Al-Bassasiri and his army (456, 1063). His nephew, Alp Arslan, succeeded him, and during his reign the rule of the Turkomans extended over a large area of Syria and Palestine. Alp Arslan soon made himself master of Aleppo, and one of his generals, Atsiz ibn 'Auk, wrested Palestine and Syria from the hands of the Fatimide caliph, Mustanşir. He even succeeded in vanquishing the Greeks and released the emperor, Romanus Diogenes, only after a large sum was paid for his ransom (August, 1071). His rule, however, was soon cut short. When on an expedition in Turkestan, he was assassinated by one of the captured chiefs, in 1072. He was succeeded by his son, Malik Shah (1072-92), after a series of civil wars, headed by his uncle, Kawurd. Malik Shah adopted a liberal policy with regard to his princes, which he extended even to those whom he had vanquished, allowed them full liberty to seek new kingdoms, "so that many of the princes later erected their standards under the shadow of his scepter."⁵ The affairs of Asia Minor and Syria

were delivered into the hands of his brother, Tutush, who established the Turkoman rule in these provinces on a firm basis.

Matters in Egypt were meanwhile in the most miserable condition. "A great famine, the like of which had never been known since the days of Joseph the faithful, desolated Egypt for seven years; men ate the flesh of their fellow-men, and, it is said, a single piece of bread was sold for fifty pieces of gold."⁶ Pestilence spread through the land in 448, when thousands died daily. As a result of these conditions, the soldiers were not paid regularly, and lawlessness and licentiousness spread through the army. The negro corps, which had the protection and support of the caliph's mother, and which was always hostile to the Turkish soldiers, who constituted the regular army, became much stronger during this time, and the antagonism between the two parties frequently resulted in bloodshed. The court became entirely demoralized; viziers and kadis were changed so frequently during these few years that the chronicler, always painstaking and scrupulous, ceased recording even their names.⁷ In 454 open feud broke out between the negro and the Turkish troops, and the country was thrown into a state of civil war, which lasted more than ten years. Naşir ad-Daula, the leader of the Turkish troops, held the caliph for a long period in utter subjection and destitution, burnt the royal palace and the valuable royal library—a loss mourned by scholars to the present day—removed from Cairo all the adherents of the Fatimide dynasty, and contemplated the complete overthrow of the Fatimide rule. It is supposed that he intended to proclaim himself the ruler of the land.⁸ The other Turkish generals, however, soon saw through his scheme, and Ildeguz, one of his captains, by strategy, killed Naşir ad-Daula and two of his brothers, and was in consequence appointed to the office of vizier by the caliph, Mustanşir. Ildeguz, however, did not treat the caliph any better than his predecessor, and Mustanşir was obliged to look elsewhere for assistance. Such assistance soon came from a man who, though of lowly origin, possessed the determination and power that make the true leader, and that crowned all his undertakings with glorious success.

Abu-l-Najm Badr, an Armenian slave, purchased by the emir Jamal ad-Daula Ibn-Ammar in Syria, whence he obtained his name al-Jamâli, was a man of a strong will and of an insatiable desire for power and glory. In 455 he was appointed comman-

dant of the important stronghold of Damascus. The soldiers of the city, however, who would not submit to his stringent measures, rose in open revolt and drove him from the city in 456. In 458 he was again appointed commandant of Damascus, but because of another rebellion, Badr remained in 'Akko, as the mayor of the town for a number of years, whence he endeavored to check the constant progress of the Turkoman armies in Syria. In 466 Badr was secretly appointed vizier by Mustanşir. Badr accepted the appointment on the condition that he should be permitted to retain his Armenian corps, and that Ildeguz be taken prisoner. The conditions being granted, Badr arrived in Cairo on the eve of Wednesday, the 28th of Jumādā I, 466.⁹ He soon rid himself of all the Egyptian emirs, divided their possessions among his own officers, and made himself master of the situation. Mustanşir, overjoyed at the relief afforded him, showed Badr all honor, presented him with a precious garment, and conferred upon him the title of Emir al-Juyush (chief of the army)—an honorary title held only by a few prefects of Syria—and shortly afterward made him chief-kadi (Kādi-l-Kudāt) and chief court preacher, thus giving him full power over both the secular and the religious affairs of the realm. Badr soon showed himself worthy of the trust put in him. As soon as he established himself in his new position, he set out to restore peace and order in the land. In the course of three years he subjugated all the rebellious tribes on the coast (467) and in upper Egypt (469), showed mildness to the peaceful tribes, and placed the land in a condition of peace and prosperity, the like of which it had not enjoyed for many years.

In spite of his stratagem and diplomacy, Badr was unable to check the steady advance of Turkoman arms in Syria and Palestine, under the leadership of Atsiz ibn 'Auk. Atsiz conquered Jerusalem and Ramla in 463,¹⁰ and began to lay siege to Damascus in the same year. Not successful this time, Atsiz continued his onslaughts on Damascus every year, until 468, when, on account of a war that broke out in the city between the Berber soldiers and the young men of Damascus, the city was delivered into his hands, and the most frightful scenes of carnage ensued. Atsiz then introduced on the Friday Hoṭba, on the 26th of Du-l-Ḥijja, the name of the Abasside caliph al-Muḩṩadi. The rule of the Fatimide dynasty over Damascus then ceased forever.

Emboldened by this victory, Atsiz determined to continue his expedition against the Fatimide caliph, and proceeded forthwith toward Egypt. He met with little opposition in Syria, and, in 469, he suddenly appeared before Cairo, at the head of a large army of Turkomans, Kurds, and Arabs. His troops were given full freedom to look for booty in the outskirts of the capital, while Atsiz was negotiating with Badr about terms of peace. He was willing to depart from Egypt, if a large sum of money be given to him. Badr, however, only wanted to gain time until his troops, that were still in upper Egypt, should arrive, and until he made some other arrangements for the strengthening of his forces. With his native foresight, Badr was ready for defeat and had prepared vessels, wherein the caliph and himself could make their escape, in case Atsiz succeeded. By bribing the Turkomans under Atsiz, however, Badr was so gloriously successful in an engagement that took place at the beginning of the month Rajab that Atsiz, accompanied by only a small band of adherents, had to escape to Syria, after one of his brothers had been killed and another had lost his arm. In Damascus, where he left one of his brothers in command, everything was in good order, and Atsiz was so pleased with the reception accorded him that he relieved the citizens of the taxes for a whole year. The rest of Syria and Palestine, however, embraced this opportunity to throw off the yoke of the Turkomans, and again declared themselves for Mustanşir and the Fatimide dynasty, so that Atsiz had to begin anew his work of conquest in these provinces. He took Jerusalem after a short siege, and put to death the kadi and other municipal officers, together with three thousand of the inhabitants of the city. He then proceeded to Gaza, and reduced to subjection the inhabitants of Syria as far as Al-Arish, close to the Egyptian boundary. In 471 Badr sent an army under Naşir ad-Daula to Damascus. Atsiz was compelled to call to his assistance the emir Tutush, the brother of Malik Shah who had been appointed prefect of Syria. Tutush hastened to his aid, the Egyptians withdrew without even attempting to oppose him, and Tutush was welcomed by Atsiz at the city gates. Tutush ordered Atsiz to be seized and executed on the spot, being probably prompted by a feeling of jealousy of Atsiz' previous victories, and made himself master of Damascus on the 11th of Rabi II, 472.

Atsiz' siege of Cairo, and his subsequent shameful defeat at

the hands of Badr al-Jamâli, form the burden of this poem. The exultation of the inhabitants of the Egyptian capital over the success of their vizier must have been very great and general among all the classes of the population. There might have been an additional reason that prompted this Jewish poet to rejoice over the defeat of the Turkomans. As appears from the poem, the conquest of Jerusalem by Atsiz was very sorely felt by the Jews. The author dwells at great length on the cruelties perpetrated against the inhabitants of the Holy City, and describes the defeat at Cairo as a direct retribution against the Turkomans. Besides, the Jews were greatly attached to the Fatimide dynasty, and especially to Mustanşir, who treated them kindly and gave them many privileges.

THE TEXT.

The origin and development of mediæval Jewish poetry have formed the subject of much scholarly investigation in modern times. The style, method, diction, and metre; the sources, both Jewish and foreign, from which these poets have drawn their inspiration; the influences exerted upon them by contact with Arabic culture; the historical development of the payyetaṇic literature; the special themes of the Jewish poets of the Middle Ages—all these received special treatment by men like Zunz,¹¹ Delitzsch,¹² Dukes,¹³ Geiger,¹⁴ and others. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves here to a discussion of the characteristics that especially mark the production that is now under consideration.

Our author follows in the footsteps of the earlier Jewish payyetaṇim in employing a language which, although mainly based on biblical Hebrew, diverges widely from it, both as regards the form of expression and the meaning attached to various words. All the payyetaṇim, being saturated with the Talmud and familiar with its mode of expression, frequently thinking of biblical passages, not as they occur in the Bible, but rather in connection with the peculiar interpretation attached to them in talmudic and midrashic writings, indulged in allusions and metaphors that can be understood only by those who have imbibed the spirit of the rabbinical writings and are at home in the vast talmudic and midrashic literature. This fact will not appear strange, when we consider that the Hebrew language was known to these writers, not as a living tongue, but as a medium of religious intercourse, and the religious intercourse of the Jews of all

ages was mainly centered around the Talmud and the liturgy, which was in itself, to a large extent, produced by the rabbis. Hence, the subjects treated by these poets, being mostly of a religious nature, lending themselves readily to such figures as are employed in the talmudic Agada, were naturally colored by the peculiar mode of expression employed in that literature. Thus, while influenced to a large extent by Arabic poetry as regards the outward form, the Jewish poets always remained on Jewish soil, not only in thought and subject-matter, but also in diction, figure, and allusion.¹⁵

The chief peculiarity of this poem consists in its theme. In the whole realm of mediæval Jewish poetry few poems can be found that deal with a historical event not intimately connected with the history of the Jews. That such poems have not come down to us in large numbers does not prove that they did not exist. It is very likely that some event of great importance stirred the soul of some Jewish poet to compose a song or an elegy, as the case might have required. It merely proves that the Jews of those times, and also of later years, were so much occupied with their own affairs, so much absorbed in the interests of their own religion and history, that they neglected to preserve poems that were not strictly Jewish. Persecution tends to make a people self-centered, especially when solidarity is regarded as the only remedy against entire annihilation. The limited horizon of the mediæval Jews betrays itself chiefly in their devotion to their religion and its observances, and whatever had no direct bearing on faith and ritual was considered of little value. Shut up in the Ghetto by inimical external forces, the Jew voluntarily cramped his interests and aspirations, became callous to events occurring outside of the Ghetto walls, and regarded with indifference incidents that might have stirred the world, but did not directly affect him. Influenced by that particular view-point that the Jew was compelled to take with regard to the outside world, the poets, even those who did not confine themselves to purely religious themes, and wrote on love, wine, and play, produced few poems that deal with secular history. It is therefore of particular interest to find a poem that has but a remote relation to Jewish religion, history, or life, written by a Jew and preserved in a Genizah in a Jewish synagogue.

That the genius of the Hebrew language does not lend itself

readily to a description of battles and sieges can be seen from this poem. Our author is not devoid of poetic genius, and in a few places the narrative is very vivid, and often highly poetic and even thrilling. Still, as a whole, this poem compares very unfavorably with the master-productions of men like Yehudah Halevi, Moses ibn Ezra, and Solomon ibn Gabirol. Influenced by the earlier school of payyēṭanim, whose language is obscure and whose figures are frequently forced, dealing with a subject that is foreign to the Jewish mind and to the Hebrew language, our author produced a poem that is, from the poetic standpoint, of mediocre value only.

There is no particular form of metre followed in this poem. Most of the lines consist of twelve syllables, six in each hemistich, while many¹⁶ follow the regular metre, very often employed by the payyēṭanim, corresponding to the Arabic Hazaj,¹⁷ which consists of a composite syllable followed by two plain syllables, twice repeated in each hemistich.¹⁸ It is obvious that the author made no conscious effort to retain this metre all through his poem, since the exceptions are too numerous to allow such a suggestion. The rhyme, however, is strictly observed, all lines, with a few exceptions,¹⁹ ending in **ם**. This is the simplest and easiest rhyme, since it was of little consequence to change a singular into a plural or a feminine into a masculine in order to get this ending. The author does not follow the alphabetical acrostic, common in mediæval Jewish poetry, nor does he make an acrostic of his own name, according to the practice of the payyēṭanim. He introduces his poem with a quotation from the book of Psalms—a book with which he was very familiar—in place of the regular Arabic introduction, “In the name of the most merciful God.” Some might detect in the first five hemistichs an attempt to form an acrostic on the tetragrammaton, a practice largely followed by the later Jewish writers in introducing their compositions. This, however, might have been entirely accidental. The beginning of the poem in l. 3 bears direct signs of Arabic influence.²⁰

Our author freely indulges in creating new forms for words, both in forming plurals for nouns and conjugations for verbs. He does not go quite as far as the earlier payyēṭanim, who created, as Zunz²¹ puts it, “ephemeral creations,” formed for a certain purpose, without any intention to have them become a

part of the language. Still, he frequently deviates from biblical usage in the formation of words and phrases, in most cases for the sake of the rhyme or of completing a line. Of the peculiar plural formations²² may be mentioned such forms as זַעֲמִים (l. 100), גַּשְׁמִים (l. 101), טָלִים (l. 101), יַמִּינִים, שְׂמָאלִים (l. 111), כִּרְסוּמִים (l. 129), and others; of masculine endings given to feminine nouns may be mentioned such as כְּלָמִים (l. 98, from כְּלֶמֶה), נַקְמִים (l. 99, from נִקְמָה), רַנְנִים (ll. 109, 142, from רִנְנָה), בָּמִים (l. 125, from בָּמָה), נִשְׁמִים (l. 127, from נִשְׁמָה), בַּהֲמִים (l. 137, from בַּהֲמָה), and others. Our author, like many of the other pay-yeṭanim, is very fond of rare words and hapaxlegomena. As examples of these may be cited כָּמָה (l. 9), שַׁפְּרִיר (l. 38), רָשִׁם (l. 85), עָגִם (l. 133), סָחִיר (l. 140), and others. Great liberty is taken by the author in making new forms for verbs. Besides using verbs in conjugations not found in the Bible, the author also creates new forms, especially when the rhyme requires it. A legitimate liberty is taken by him in treating verbs *mediae geminatae* after the analogy of trilaterals, as הַתָּמִים for הִתָּם (l. 3), הַשְּׁמִים for הִשָּׁם (l. 15), הַהֲמִים for הִהָם (l. 26), which, however, does not occur in the Hiphil.

A characteristic of this poem is the frequent use of the conjunction ו in the beginning of lines—a usage frequently followed by Arabic²³ and Hebrew²⁴ writers when dealing with subjects that require vivid description. Nearly two-thirds of the lines of this poem begin with ו—a fact that adds vivacity and grace to the description, although much discouraged by more modern writers. The conjunction גם is also used here very often (about fifty-three times), obviously for the same reason. Free use is made of the particle ל, which is used not only to express the indirect object, or with the infinitive to express purpose, but also with verbs that usually take the direct object (*e. g.*, ll. 16, 35, 47, 51, *et al.*). Other peculiarities in style and diction will be noted in the notes to the text.

THE AUTHOR.

The name of the author of this poem, as given at the end of the manuscript, Solomon, son of Joseph, Ha-Kohen, is unknown to Jewish history. The poem itself throws but little light on the life of its author. It can, however, be safely assumed that he was an inhabitant of Fostat or Cairo, and that he lived at the time during which the incident narrated here took place. None

but an eyewitness could have described the siege of Cairo, and the incidents attendant upon the appearance of the enemy at its gates, with such minuteness. The high tribute paid to al-Mustanşir and to his vizier Badr indicates that the author lived during the latter part of the reign of Mustanşir. The knowledge that the author displays of events occurring at that time in Syria and Palestine points to the same conclusion. These, however, are all the internal evidences of the identity of our author.

More light is thrown upon the descent and family relations of our author by the epithet he attaches to his name. He calls himself **נִי גֵאוֹנִים** (a descendant of Geonim), and this appellation gives us a clue as to his origin. Among the Genizah fragments, lately discovered by Professor S. Schechter, there is one, known as *Megillat Abyathar*,²⁵ which is of greatest importance to mediæval Jewish history. Professor W. Bacher²⁶ thinks that a new chapter must be added to Jewish history, as constructed from this fragment. From this document we learn that the office of the Gaonate existed in Palestine for a considerable time, after it had ceased in Babylon with the death of Hai Gaon. The *Megillat Abyathar* presents the contention that existed at that time (1083) about the religious jurisdiction over the Jews of Egypt and Palestine. We shall present here a few facts, gathered from this and from other writings, which have a direct bearing upon the descent and relations of the author of our poem.

Hai, son of Sherira, gaon of Pumbedita, died in 1038. The gaonate in Babylon, which was intrusted with the Jewish religious affairs for nearly four and a half centuries, then came to a close. For a short time²⁷ after the death of Hai, the office of the gaonate was assumed by Hezekiah, the exilarch, but this was merely nominal—a shadow of the original position. Already during the life of the last gaon, Hai, there is mention of the existence of an academy in Palestine, which assumed the same functions as those exercised by the academies presided over by the Babylonian Geonim.²⁸ In a fragment, published by Dr. Neubauer,²⁹ Solomon ben Yehudah is mentioned as the gaon of Palestine in 1046.³⁰ Joseph, the son of Solomon, is supposed to have been the gaon until 1054, when he died.³¹ The gaonate then passed over to Daniel ben Azariah, a scion of the exilarch family. When Daniel died in 1062,³² Elijah, the brother of Joseph, became gaon and ruled the Diaspora until 1094. When

Jerusalem was wrested from the hands of the Fatimide caliph by Atsiz ibn 'Auk in 1071,³³ the gaon and his academy moved to Tyre. Abyathar, the son of Elijah, became gaon after his father's death, and, in order to vindicate his position against the pretenses of David ben Daniel, the descendant of the Babylonian exilarchs, who was proclaimed exilarch in Egypt, where he had many supporters, and attempted to make also the Palestinian Jews bow to his authority, Abyathar wrote the above-mentioned Megillah (1094). While Abyathar remained in Tyre, the next generation of geonim lived in Egypt.³⁴

There can be but little doubt that this Solomon ben Joseph Ha-Kohen, the descendant of Geonim, was a member of the illustrious family of Palestinian Geonim, who prided themselves on their priestly descent. It is, however, uncertain whether he was the son of Joseph who died in 1054. The fact that Joseph lived in Palestine, while our author was apparently an inhabitant of Fostat, would not militate against this supposition. The Jewish communities of Egypt and Palestine were at that time united by many ties. While during the lifetime of Joseph there seemed to have been a feud between these communities on account of the intrigues of Daniel ben Azariah,³⁵ after the death of the latter, in 1062, peace was restored, and the Egyptian Jewish community willingly submitted to the authority of the Palestinian Geonim.³⁶ It is therefore not at all improbable that, after the death of his father, Solomon should have settled in Egypt. His praises of Mustanşir and of the government in general, although the government had supported Daniel,³⁷ is not at all strange. The Jews were always well disposed toward the Fatimide caliphs and neglected no opportunity to express their gratitude for the kind treatment accorded them. This was especially so in the case of Mustanşir, toward whom the Jews entertained the most friendly feelings.³⁸ Joseph probably died young, since his brother Elijah, who succeeded him in the gaonate, lived thirty years after Joseph's death.³⁹ Solomon, the son of Joseph, might have been quite a young man in 1077, when the event narrated in this poem occurred. In a *testatum*, copied from Fragment T.-S. 20. 31, dated 1092, and apparently written in Fostat, a Solomon Ha-Kohen, son of Joseph, "the father of the academy,"⁴⁰ is mentioned. It is very tempting to identify this Solomon with the author of our poem.

Among the Genizah fragments now in the possession of David Werner Amram, Esq., of Philadelphia, there is one that bears directly upon our subject, and that may serve to clear up the genealogy of this gaonic family. It is a prayer, probably read in the synagogue on the sabbath, for the souls of illustrious dead,⁴¹ and contains the names of Geonim, Negidim, rabbis, and so forth. In the list of the family of Geonim, the following passage occurs, which rather conflicts with the accepted theory about this family: "For the good memory of the dead, the memory of the Geonim of Israel . . . until our lord and master Solomon Ha-Kohen, the chief of the academy Geon Jacob,⁴² and his son Elijah Ha-Kohen, the chief of the academy Geon Jacob, and his brother Joseph Ha-Kohen, the father of the court of justice for all Israel."⁴³ The fact that Joseph is mentioned after Elijah, and is not given the regular title of "chief of the academy Geon Jacob," borne by the other Geonim, but is called the "father of the court of justice," is rather perplexing. In view of this fragment and of other evidences, I beg to submit the following theory:

It was customary for the eldest son of a gaon to bear the title of "father of the court of justice," or that of "father of the academy." These two titles seem to have been interchangeable, so that one and the same man might be called at one time by one title and another time by the other.⁴⁴ It is probable that Joseph, the eldest son of the gaon Solomon, also bore this twofold title during the lifetime of his father. Soon after Solomon's death, Daniel ben Azariah, supported by the government, began his feud against the Palestinian gaonic family, and prevented Joseph from assuming the title of gaon, so that Joseph was really never recognized officially as gaon, and remained up to his death with the title of "father of the court of justice" or "father of the academy." The fact that Abyathar in his Megillah designates him as gaon,⁴⁵ merely proves that he recognized him as such, but in official documents, such as the memorial prayer and the *testatum*, he was known only by his official title. Solomon, the son of Joseph, was perhaps too young at the time of Daniel's death, when peace was restored in the community, to claim the title of gaon, which really belonged to him by right of descent, he being the son of Joseph, the eldest son of Solomon. Thus the gaonate passed over to Elijah, Solomon's uncle. In 1082, however, when Elijah called a meeting of all Israel at Tyre and appointed his son

Abyathar as his successor in the gaonate, his son Solomon as the "father of the court of Justice," and a stranger, Zadok, son of Josiah, as "the father,"⁴⁶ Solomon, son of Joseph, was displeased, and perhaps gave his support to David, the son of Daniel, the exilarch, who attempted to wrest the authority of the Palestinian Geonim. The *testatum* quoted above was drawn up in "the great court of the lord David the exilarch, son of our lord Daniel Gaon, the Nasi of all Israel;" hence Solomon withheld from mentioning his father's name as Joseph *Gaon*, but refers to him merely as "father of the academy," the title which he held officially. This would still further explain the reason for the great adulation the author gives in this poem to Mustanşir and his court, who is similarly praised by David in another fragment.⁴⁷ This suggestion, although not essential to the establishment of the identity of our author, merits some consideration at the hands of scholars. I expect, in the near future, to publish the memorial prayer in Mr. Amram's collection.

THE TEXT.

COLUMN 1.

יי לארך ימים⁴⁹
 והוא אבי היתומים⁵⁰
 אשר עשה וגם התמים⁵³
 נאות קדר⁵⁵ התמים
 5 הנד תעלומים⁵⁶
 מעד הואבא תמים⁵⁷
 וגם יהיה לקיומים⁵⁸
 הטוורים⁵⁹ השלימים⁶⁰
 לנהוגה⁶² בני אומים⁶³
 10 בנפשותם ללחומים⁶⁴
 יחיהו דר מעונים⁶⁶
 בכל גרים וכל אמים
 לא יבוש כנכלמים⁶⁷
 וגם כלם וגם השמים
 15 אשר בנום עלי רמים⁷¹
 דין צדק באשימים
 יאילחו⁷³ לעולמים
 אשר ריחם מבושמים⁷⁴
 20 והעבוד בסיומים⁷⁶

יי ידין עמים⁴⁸
 הוא דיין אלמנות
 הראית⁵¹ נפלאות אל⁵²
 וגם הציל לבית עלי⁵⁴
 המלך הגדול אשר
 אלמסתנצר באללה
 יחי לעד ברוב הטוב
 הכהן בן כהנים
 וגם בניו הכמיהים⁶¹
 וגם עבדיו האוהבים
 ובראשם קצין⁶⁵ צבאות
 אשר הוא ראש לכל ראשים
 אשר אורו כאור שמש
 אשר הרבו מרוטה⁶⁸ על כל
 לתכליתם⁶⁹ זמנו⁷⁰ אל
 לשירותם וארמנותם
 וגם התן⁷² ראשיהם
 ישגבחו אלהינו
 ושמשו וכל עבדיו
 ובראשם זקן ההוד⁷⁵

	כמו אחים מותאמים ⁷⁷	האהוב הנאמן
	לעזרהו בכל פנים ⁷⁸	ישמרהו צורינו
	סגול עם ⁸⁰ ראש לכל עמים	יערב לך ⁷⁹ שרינו
	רוב ברכות ורוב שלומים ⁸¹	קחה מנחה ומנוחה
25	ברוב חידה והגיונים ⁸⁵	ותן ⁸² קידה ⁸³ מִי־חִידָה ⁸⁴
	והנחיד צר וגם ההמים ⁸⁷	לאל עֶזְרָה וגם נָצַר ⁸⁶
	הישרים התמימים	וגם הַיְשִׁישׁ ⁸⁸ בְּנֵי אֵל חַי ⁸⁹
	ומתענים וגם צמים	אשר עשו רוב צדקות ⁹⁰
	וגם לילות וגם ימים ⁹³	ושואלים ⁹¹ כל שבועים ⁹²
30	הצור פעלו תמים ⁹⁴	לאל החי והשדי
	וגם ענם ממרומים	והעתירים ⁹⁵ להסתירים ⁹⁶
	ולא קטרת ולא סמים	בלא מנחה ולא קרבן ⁹⁷
	ולא תומים ולא חלומים ⁹⁸	ולא נבואה ולא אורים
	וגם הַיְמִישׁ לפעמים	וגם הציב למכמורת ⁹⁹
35	להקריבו אל תחומים ¹⁰¹	וגם פיתה ללב ¹⁰⁰ אורב
	וגם דרכו ¹⁰² האגמים ¹⁰³	ויעברו הנהרות
	כנוטרים ונוקמים ¹⁰⁴	ויהיו כְּאֹיִיבִים
	בזוז וגם שפוך דמים	ונכנסו במו שפריר ¹⁰⁵
	וגם פתחו האסמים ¹⁰⁶	וגם גלו העריות
40	וגם נאזר בנרקמים ¹⁰⁸	והם עם זר מתאכזר ¹⁰⁷
	וגם ראשים לְאָמִים ¹¹¹	מחומשים ¹⁰⁹ משולשים ¹¹⁰
	בם שהורים וְאֲדָוִים	וגם לובשים קובעות ¹¹²
	בנות אשפה ¹¹⁴ בפנימים	וגם קשת וגם כידון ¹¹³
	וינהמו כהמות ¹¹⁶ ימים	ויצַעֲקוּ כמו פילים ¹¹⁵
45	אשר ¹¹⁷ לבולם ¹¹⁸ מתקומים	להרעידם להפחידם

COLUMN 2.

	לשוב אָחֹר מערימים	ויתגודדו ¹¹⁹ כגלִי ים
	במו מרמה מתרמים	וללשונם מלעיגים ¹²⁰
	וערביאים וְאֲדָוִים ¹²³	מעורבבים ¹²¹ ארמניים ¹²²
	ורופתים ¹²⁶ ותוגרימים ¹²⁷	ויוונים ¹²⁴ ואשכנזים ¹²⁵
50	כשוטים ¹²⁸ לא כחלומים ¹²⁹	וגם רעים וחטאים
	וגם היו לשומרים ¹³⁰	וישאז הערים
	וגם לנחול כמְדָוִים ¹³²	וישמחו בלבותם ¹³¹
	יהתלו ¹³⁴ בו הקוסמים	ונמלך ¹³³ הוא במנחשים
	ולמארב הם שמים	ומהנותם מסיעים
55	לעבדיהם נתחמים ¹³⁵	והם פוחדים וגם אומרים
	ועיניהם נעצמים ¹³⁶	ונכשלו ונחשלו
	בני זמות וגם זמים ¹³⁸	ונלכדו בשחיתות ¹³⁷
	וחטאותם החתומים ¹³⁹	וזכר אל עוונותם

	וצוררים כל היקומים ¹⁴⁰	ורעותם אלי כל איש
60	ודיכדך ¹⁴¹ במ דומימים ¹⁴²	להפילם והשפילם
	אנשי הירושלמים	וגם זכר עשותם עם
	שתי שנים שני פעמים ¹⁴³	אשר הִצִּירו להם
	והחריבו המקומים	וגם שרפו הגדישים
65	וירמסו הכרמים	ויקצצו העצים
	על ההרים הרמים	ויסובבו את העיר
	והשליכו העצמים	והחריבו הקברים
	לחסות בה מחמים	וגם בנו ארמונים
	הרוג עליו הזעומים ¹⁴⁴	והציבו מזבח
	רוכבים עלי החומים	והאנשים והנשים
70	לשֶׁכֶךְ רוב החמים ¹⁴⁶	צועקים אֵל אֵל אֵלִים ¹⁴⁵
	להניסה לתנומים	עומדים כל הלילה
	ומעריבים ומשכימים	והאויבים מהריבים
	ויהשפו ¹⁴⁸ האדמים	וירעו הארצות ¹⁴⁷
	עשות כקין דומימים	והם עומדים על דרכים
75	וגם האֶף משלימים	והוחכים האזניים
	להציגם עירומים ¹⁴⁹	וישללו המלבושים
	וכנפירים נִהָמִים	וגם ישאגו כאריות
	ולחיות הם דומים	ולא ידמו בני אדם
	ובזכרים נחמים ¹⁵⁰	וגם זונות וגם זונים
80	ומכעיסים כסדומים	וגם רעים והטאים
	והרעיבו למנועמים ¹⁵²	וירוששו בני טובים ¹⁵¹
	ובשדה הם הומים	ויצאו כל בני העיר
	מכאבם דומימים ¹⁵⁴	וגם עוטים על שפם ¹⁵³
	ולא חסו על יתומים	ולא ריחמו אלמנות
85	והטאותם נרשמים ¹⁵⁵	ומה יעשו ואֵן יחסו
	וראשיהם החכמים ¹⁵⁶	ושריהם הם התעום
	ולחרע מהוכמים ¹⁵⁷	סוררים הם וגנבים
	להנהיגם לבלומים ¹⁵⁹	ותעלולים ¹⁵⁸ במ מושלים
	וירזם ¹⁶¹ נזרמים ¹⁶²	וקינא אל ¹⁶⁰ למקדש אֵל

COLUMN 3.

90	גלויות גם נעלמים ¹⁶³	על רוע מעשיהם
	וישנו הכתמים ¹⁶⁴	וישנו דתות אל
	ומגיעים דם בדמים ¹⁶⁵	ומרצחים ומרכילים
94	בְּתוֹךְ עומקי התהומים	באר שחת להורידם
95	ולא יראו בנעימים	יאבדם ימהה זכרם ¹⁶⁶
	עם גחלי הרחמים ¹⁶⁷	תהא עליהם יוקדת
	תהא בושה וכלמים	עוונותם אם נספר

	מחמסם כעס אל	וגם שלח לנקמים
	כלך ומרצחים	
93	והטאים החדשים	נתוספו על קדומים ¹⁶⁸
	ובא יחריב עולמו	ברוב האף ובזעמים
100	וגם מנע הרביבים	וגם טלים וגשמים
	וגם חרבו העיינות	ולא רוו התלמים ¹⁶⁹
	וגם היו כסדומים	ולעמורה הם נדמים ¹⁷⁰
	אזי הגביר לאוּיב	להכחידם כחרמים ¹⁷¹
	ואשורים וצפונים ¹⁷²	הובילם על הלומים ¹⁷³
105	ובא חצר עלי מבצר	בקול המולה וברעמים
	כלך לכדה	אספל
110	ודמיו מלוך למו פסטאט ¹⁷⁴	
	ועיניהם נשׁתָּמִים ¹⁷⁵	
106	ברוב מחולות ובדגלים	כמו קרני הראימים ¹⁷⁶
	ונכנס צר אלי אוצר	וגם פתח לסחומים
	והלך צר לדמשק ¹⁷⁷	במזל טוב ¹⁷⁸ וברננים ¹⁷⁹
	לכדה גם ישב בה	כמות ¹⁸⁰ מאתים ימים ¹⁸¹
111	ובֹא ורץ אל עיר המלוכה	הסכוכה בעננים ¹⁸²
	הידועה במו קאהרה	לכל גויים וכל אַמים
	ויץ ¹⁸³ מתנה לְעֹזֹרִים	ובם הראש למחכימים
	וצג ¹⁸⁴ הגלים כעמודים	מבני כוש בני הַמִּים
115	ובא האיש ברוב חימות	ורוב אימות והאימים ¹⁸⁵
	וערביאים והגריאים ¹⁸⁶	משמאולים ומימינים
	ובא אויב ברוב גאון	לבלוע (ב)עממים ¹⁸⁷
	צור הפיר עצת גוים	הניא מחשבות עמים ¹⁸⁸
	והמזל אזי שפל ¹⁸⁹	(ב)נו(ת) עיש וגם כימים ¹⁹⁰
121	ב וצעקו בני אברהם	(יש) מע אל הרחומים ¹⁹¹
120	א ונצחקם עדת עלי	עזורי נין זמזמים ¹⁹²
122	למכה מלכים גדולים	ויחרוג מלכים עצומים ¹⁹³
	וצוה אל היות אויבים	כמו הרשים וכאלמים ¹⁹⁴
	ולא רצם ולא הלצם	בני כמות וגם כמים
125	ועד שעה בפג־עה ¹⁹⁵	היו הללים גם דרומים ¹⁹⁶
	ונגזרו ראשיהם	וגם עפו הנשמים ¹⁹⁷

COLUMN 4.

199	ינאים זאת הנאונים	ומי היה ומי יהיה ¹⁹⁸
	ויירשום בלרסומים ²⁰⁰	ובזוזום ושללום
	בדודאים על שפמים ²⁰¹	וגם באו הראשים
130	ועזו מזל בניתונים ²⁰³	פני מלך מצארי ההן ²⁰²

	וקיצוצם בקרדומים	וגם צוה לשיבורם
	לרפא לב העגומים	ושלחם למדינות ²⁰⁴
	ורווחתם נפעמים ²⁰⁵	אשר היו כשנורים
	ויש מהם נפצמים ²⁰⁷	יש מהם על תוננם ²⁰⁶
135	היה לאבני דומים ²⁰⁹	ופום ממליל רברבנים ²⁰⁸
	לחיות ולבהמים	ונבלתם מושלכת ²¹⁰
	לתולעות וגם רמים	והנשאר בגויותם
	חמרים חמרים עצמים ²¹¹	וגם יתום הצבירום
	ולסתווים ²¹² ולחבמים ²¹³	לקיץ ולחורק
140	המנסה ברוב רחמים	וזה מעשה המנסה
	ובקשו אל ביננים	עשו צדקות והודאות
	היתה לראש חפנים ²¹⁴	אבן מאסו הבונים
	כי נרצו מאלמים אלמים ²¹⁵	בוא יבוא ברנה
	ודבירים ואולמים	תזכו לבנין בית
145	והבנות והבנים	גם הטף והנשים
147	לחדש שקט ובשנים	יום שני ארבע נשאר
	ולחורבן משטמים ²¹⁶	שנת דתללו ליצירה
	בן יהוסף נין גאונים ²¹⁷	שלמה הוא חכהן
146	וכל מעשיו באמונים ²¹⁸	כי ישר דבר יי
		כלה גם הטף
150	יקרה היא כפנינים ²²⁰	ואם תמנה מנה קט(ט)י ²¹⁹

TRANSLATION.

- The Lord judgeth nations; the Lord, forever and ever;
He is the judge of widows, and He is the father of orphans.
Hast thou seen the wonders of God, which he did and also completed?
How he saved the house of 'Ali, the dwellings of Kedar, the perfect—
5. The great king who relateth hidden things,
Al-Mustanşir b'Illahi, Ma'ad Abu Tamim,
May he live forever in abundance of good, and may he be estab-
lished eternally,
The priest, son of priests, the pure, the perfect—
And also his sons, who long for the priesthood, the sons of nations—
10. And also his servants, who love to battle at the risk of their lives,
And at their head, the captain of the hosts, (may He who dwells in
the upper abodes grant him life),
Who is chief over all chiefs, of all peoples and of all nations,
Whose light is like the light of the sun, who is not abashed like
those who are ashamed,
Whose sword is sharpened against all enemies and all those that
rise up against him;

15. God appointed him to destroy them, and he did indeed destroy
 them and laid waste
 Their walls and their palaces, which they built on the heights,
 And cut off their heads; a righteous judgment against the guilty!
 May our God strengthen him, may he strengthen him forever!
 And his servitors and all his servants, whose odor is fragrant,
20. And at their head, the glorious old man, distinguished in honors,
 The faithful friend, (he and the king) like twin brothers;
 May our Creator preserve him, help him at every turn!
 May it please you, our lord, beloved of the people, head of all nations,
 Accept tribute and repose, many blessings and much peace.
25. And give cassia of the only one, with much thought and devotion,
 To God who helped and saved, who destroyed the enemy and
 utterly confounded (them),
 And rejoiced the children of the living God, the upright, the perfect ones,
 Who did much charity, and afflicted themselves and also fasted,
 And prayed for weeks, both day and night,
30. To the living God, the Almighty, the Rock, whose work is perfect.
 And he granted their prayers for protection, and answered them
 from on high,
 (Although they came) without meal-offering, without sacrifice, without
 incense, without spices,
 Without prophecy, without Urim, without Tumim, without dreams.
 And He ensnared the enemy and often overthrew them,
35. And he lured on the enemy to bring them to the boundary.
 And they crossed the streams, and passed over the lagoons,
 And they were like (mortal) foes, as those who are vindictive and
 revengeful,
 And they entered Fostat, robbed and murdered,
 And ravished and pillaged the storehouses;
40. They were a strange and cruel people, girt with garments of many
 colors,
 Armed and officered—chiefs among “the terrible ones”—
 And capped with hemlets, black and red,
 With bow and spear and full quivers;
 And they trumpet like elephants, and roar as the roaring ocean,
45. To terrify, to frighten those who oppose them,
 And press forward as the waves of the sea, they cunningly devise
 their retreat,
 And they stammer with their tongues, they endeavor to beguile with
 craftiness;
 They are mingled of Armenians, Arabs, and Edomites,
 And Greeks and Germans, Paphlogonians and Turks;
50. And they are wicked men and sinners, madmen, not sane,
 And they laid waste the cities, and they were made desolate
 And they rejoiced in their hearts, hoping to inherit.

- But when (their chief) consulted the soothsayers, the diviners
mocked him.
- And they broke camp, and placed (men) in ambush,
55. And they hastened in fear, and also told their servants, "let us
depart from the boundary!" (?)
- And they stumbled and became weak, and their eyes were blinded,
And they were caught in the net—the sons of adultery.
And God remembered their iniquities and their sins that are sealed,
And their evil deeds against all men, that they harassed all creatures,
60. And He overthrew them and humbled them and crushed all the
hopeful among them.
- He also remembered what they had done to the people of Jerusalem,
That they besieged them twice in two years,
And burned the heaped corn and destroyed the places,
And cut down the trees and trampled upon the vineyards,
65. And surrounded the city upon the high mountains,
And despoiled the graves and threw out the bones,
And built palaces, to protect themselves against the heat,
And erected an altar to slay upon it the abominations;
And the men and the women ride upon the walls,
70. Crying unto the God of gods, to quiet the great anger,
Standing the whole night, banishing sleep,
While the enemy destroy, evening and morning,
And break down the earth, and lay bare the ground,
And stand on the highways, intending to slay like Cain,
75. And cut off the ears, and also the nose,
And rob the garments, leaving them stand naked,
And also roar like lions, and roar like young lions;
They do not resemble men, they are like beasts,
And also harlots and adulterers, and they inflame themselves with
males,
80. They are bad and wicked, spiteful as the Sodomites.
And they impoverished the sons of nobles, and starved the delicately
bred.
- And all the people of the city went out and cried in the field,
And covered their lips, silent in their pains,
And they had no mercy on widows, and pitied not the orphans.
85. What should they do, whither should they seek protection, since
their sins are recorded?
- Their princes led them astray, their chiefs, the wise ones;
They are robbers and thieves, they are wise only to do evil;
Children rule over them, leading them with a halter.
But God was jealous for his sanctuary, and scattered them over-
whelmed.
90. Because of their evil deeds, the revealed and also the hidden:
They changed the laws of God, they multiplied iniquities,
They are murderers and slanderers, cause blood to touch blood,

- And new sins were added to the early ones,
 To lower them to the pit of destruction, into depths of the deep;
95. He will destroy them, He will wipe off their memory, and they
 shall not see pleasantness,
 A burning shall be upon them, even burning coals:
 Should we attempt to count their sins, it would be a shame and a
 disgrace.
- Because of their violence, God was wroth and sent vengeance,
 And he came, destroyed the world, with much wrath and anger,
100. And He also withheld the early rain, also dew and rain,
 The springs were dried up and the beds were not watered.
 They were like Sodomites, they resembled (the people of) Gomorrah.
 Then he allowed the enemy to prevail, in order to uproot them
 (later) with utter destruction.
 And the Assyrians and the Northerners, he led them for the purpose
 of striking them down.
105. And the enemy came to the fortress, with a noise of roaring and of
 thunder,
 With much dancing and with banners, like the horns of the Re'em.
 And the enemy entered the treasury, and opened the hidden places
 And the enemy went to Damascus, with a happy star and with
 songs,
 And they captured it and dwelt therein, for about two hundred days.
110. And they expected to reign in Fostat, but their eyes were blinded.
 And they came in haste to the royal city, that is protected by clouds,
 That is known as Cairo, to all peoples and all nations.
 And there came forth the camp of the saved ones, and among them
 was the chief of the wise,
 And placed flags like columns, for the sons of Kush, the sons of
 Ham.
115. And the chief came with great anger and with great terror,
 And Arabians and Hagrites, to the left and to the right,
 And the enemy came with much arrogance, to swallow up the
 nations.
 But the Rock brought to naught the counsel of nations, He made
 of none effect the devices of peoples.
 And their star declined, the daughters of Arcturus and Pleiades.
120. And the hosts of 'Ali conquered them—the saved, the descendants
 of Zamzumim;
 The children of Abraham cried [and the merciful God harkened],
 To him who smites great kings and slays mighty kings.
 And God commanded that the enemy should be like the deaf and
 the dumb,
 And he did not favor them, and He did not save them—the wor-
 shippers at high places,
125. And ere He turned to their supplication, they were slain and
 dead(?),

- And their heads were cut off, and their souls fled away.
 He who was and will be saith these words.
 And they robbed them and spoiled them, and vanquished them by cutting them off.
 And their chiefs came, with baskets upon their shoulders,
130. Seeking the accustomed favor of the king, and a happy fate by their submission (?),
 But he commanded to crush them and to cut them up with axes,
 And sent them to the provinces to heal the sorrowful hearts,
 (Of those) who were like drunken men, whose spirits were troubled,
 Some of them remained sound, others were wounded.
135. And the mouth that boasted of great things, became like a speechless stone.
 And their corpses were cast to the wild beasts and animals,
 And the remainder of their bodies, for worms and lizards,
 And the remainder they gathered up in large heaps of bones,
 For summer and winter, for autumn and spring.
140. And this is the work of the Tester, who protecteth with the multitude of His compassion.
 Do ye charity and give thanks and pray to God with song.
 The stone that the builders rejected is become the corner-stone.
 He shall enter with song, for the binders of the sheaves were favored.
 Ye shall live to see the building of the House, the Temple, and its halls,
145. Also the children and the women, the daughters and the sons,
 For the word of God is upright, and all His works are faithful.
 The second day, four were left in the month of Shebat, and in years,
 The year 4837 from the creation, and from the destruction (of the Temple) 1009.
 Solomon, he is the priest, son of Joseph, descendant of Geonim.
150. And if you would count, count 149 (spell "destruction"). It is more precious than pearls.

REFERENCES.

¹In the autumn of 1896; cf. *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. V, s. v.; D. Kauffmann, in the Hebrew monthly *Hashiloah*, Vol. II, pp. 385, 481. Many of these fragments have been edited and published in various issues of the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (1896-1905) and other magazines.

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²Raphe; cf. König, *Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1881), Vol. I, p. 41; Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebräische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1889), §142.

³The main source for this sketch is Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Fatimiden Chalifen*, in "Abhandlungen der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen," Vol. XXVII (Göttingen, 1881).

⁴ Maḳrīzi, Vol. I, p. 355; cf. Ibn Khallikan, *Biographical Dictionary*, translated by de Slane (Paris, 1842), Vol. III, p. 382.

⁵ Gibbons, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. Smith (London, 1887), Vol. VII, pp. 155-66; cf. Mäller, *Der Islam in Morgen- und Abendlande* (Berlin, 1885), Vol. I, p. 636.

⁶ Ibn Khallikan, *loc. cit.*

⁷ Cf. Wüstenfeld, *loc. cit.*, pp. 26-28, who quotes Sujuti (Bulak), Vol. II, pp. 92 and 117, where a list of thirty-nine viziers and forty-two chief kadis is given.

⁸ See Wüstenfeld, *loc. cit.*, p. 36.

⁹ Maḳrīzi, Vol. I, p. 382; cf. Ibn Khallikan, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 612, 613, where a very interesting incident is related about the advent of Badr at Mustanṣir's court.

¹⁰ Wüstenfeld, *loc. cit.*, p. 38; Besant and Palmer, *Jerusalem* (New York, 1890), pp. 120-22.

¹¹ *Die synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1855); *Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie* (Berlin, 1865).

¹² *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Poesie* (Leipzig, 1836).

¹³ *Zur Kenntniss der neuhebräischen religiösen Poesie* (Frankfurt, 1842).

¹⁴ *Jüdische Dichtungen der spanischen und italienischen Schule* (Leipzig, 1856); *Dīwan des Abu'l-Hassan Juḥa ha-Levi* (Breslau, 1851); *Salomo Gabirol und seine Dichtungen* (Leipzig, 1867).

¹⁵ Cf. Dukes, *loc. cit.*, especially pp. 16-29, 112-35.

¹⁶ *E. g.*, ll. 7, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 26, 28, *et al.*

¹⁷ Cf. Caspari-Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, 3d ed., Vol. II, p. 360.

¹⁸ ∪ - - - | ∪ - - - || ∪ - - - | ∪ - - - ||. The Hebrew name for this metre is יתד ושתי תנועות, יתד ושתי תנועות, בדקת וכן בסוגר. This is the metre adopted in the well-known hymn of the Jewish liturgy beginning with the line

אֲדֹנָי עֵינֵינוּ אֲשֶׁר מָלַךְ, בְּצִטָּרָם כָּל יְעִיר זָבָרָא

See Rosin, *Abraham Ibn Ezra* (Breslau, 1885), Introduction, § 6, p. 9.

¹⁹ Ll. 11, 22, 25, 109, 112, 117, 131, 142, 143, 146, 147, 148, 150 end in קִיר.

²⁰ See note *ad loc.*

²¹ *Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie*, p. 30.

²² See Zunz, *Synagogale Poesie*, p. 118, and *Beilage*, pp. 374-77.

²³ Cf. Nöldeke, *Delectus Veterum Carminum Arabicorum* (Berlin, 1890), pp. 64, 70, 75, 77, 79, *et al.*

²⁴ Cf. Ibn Ezra, ed. Kahana, Vol. I, pp. 156-60 (poems on chess play), pp. 191-204 (elegy on the destruction of Jewish communities in Spain); Halevi, ed. Harkavy, Vol. I, pp. 25-31 *et al.*

²⁵ Schechter, *Saadyana* (Cambridge, 1903), Fragment XXXVIII, pp. 80-104.

²⁶ *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. XV, pp. 79-96.

²⁷ Two years, according to Ibn Daud, *Sefer Ha-Kabbalah*, ed. Neubauer, *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles*, Vol. I, p. 67; cf. Gratz, *Geschichte der Juden*, Vol. VI, p. 14; a longer period according to *Chronicles of Jerahmeel*, ed. Neubauer, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 177; cf. Bacher *loc. cit.*, p. 80.

²⁸ *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. XIV, p. 233.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 178.

³⁰ Bacher, *loc. cit.*, p. 82; Epstein in the *Monatsschrift*, Vol. XLVII, p. 345, objects to Bacher's assumption on the ground that Solomon ben Yehudah is not mentioned as a Kohen, a pedigree of which the Palestinian Geonim were particularly proud. Posnanski, however, in his *Schechters Saadyana* (Frankfort, 1903), agrees with Bacher. Cf. Schechter, *loc. cit.*, p. 81, n. 1. That the gaon preceding Joseph was called Solomon is further supported by the fragment in Amram's collection, referred to later.

³¹ Schechter, *loc. cit.*, p. 88, l. 12.

³² *Ibid.*, l. 15.

³³ See "Historical Sketch."

³⁴ Bacher, *loc. cit.*, p. 92, and *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. V, p. 572.

³⁵ Schechter, *loc. cit.*, p. 88, ll. 9, 10.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, l. 18.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

³⁸ Cf. Schechter, *loc. cit.*, Fragment XL; Goldziher, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. XV, pp. 73, 74.

³⁹ Died 1084; Schechter, *loc. cit.*, p. 89, l. 23.

⁴⁰ שלמה הכהן ביר' יוסה אב הישיבה זצ"ל, quoted *ibid.*, p. 81, n. 2, last name.

⁴¹ Cf. Gaster, in *Gedenkbuch zur Erinnerung an David Kauffmann* (Breslau, 1900), pp. 230, 241, Nos. XV and XVI.

⁴² ראש ישיבת גאון יעקב was the name of the Palestinian academy, and the title גאון יעקב was the official title borne by the Geonim; cf. Schechter, *loc. cit.*, p. 81, n. 1.

⁴³ אב בית דין של כל ישראל.

⁴⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 82, n. 4.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 88, l. 8, יוסה הכהן ושני גאונים.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 88, ll. 17-19.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Fragment XII.

⁴⁸ Ps. 96:10; cf. Ps. 9:9.

⁴⁹ Ps. 93:5.

⁵⁰ Cf. Ps. 68:6.

⁵¹ Arabic influence. It is the custom of Arabic poets to begin their poems with a rhetorical question. Cf. Ibn Hisham, 516, 517; Ibn Athîr, 3, 152, *et al.*

⁵² Job 37:14; cf. Mic. 7:15; Ps. 78:11. See Schechter, *Saadyana, פלאות להראות* (Cambridge, 1893), Fragment XVII, l. 6, p. 46.

⁵³ Analogy of trilaterals for the purpose of perfecting the rhyme. The regular form would be הָתָם; cf. 2 Sam. 20:18.

⁵⁴ Regular appellation of the Fatimide dynasty of caliphs.

⁵⁵ Mentioned in the Bible as the son of Ishmael (Gen. 25:13; 1 Chron. 1:29); also as the name of a tribe of nomads in the Arabian desert (Isa. 21:16; 42:11; 60:7; Jer. 2:10; 49:28; Ezek. 27:21; *et al.*). In mediæval Jewish literature this name was used generically for all Mohammedans. See Ibn Ezra's commentary to Dan. 11:30, זהו הקדרי ראש מלכות, also Rosin's edition of Ibn Ezra's *Poems* (Breslau, 1887), Vol. II, p. 90, n. 6; Halevi, ed. Harkavy (Warsaw, 1893), Vol. II, p. 11; Al-Charizi, *Tachkemoni*, ed. Kaminka (Warsaw, 1899), pp. 8, 118; Schechter, *loc. cit.*, Fragment XXIII, verso l. 8, p. 50. Kedar is also supposed to have been the ancestor of Mohammed himself, according to Arabic tradition; see Caussin de Perceval, *Essai*, Vol. I, 175, quoted in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. VIII, p. 462.

⁵⁶ Cf. Job 11:6. Masculine instead of feminine ending (Ps. 44:22) for the sake of the rhyme.

⁵⁷ The full name of the caliph is **المستنصر بالله ابو تميم معد**. The author transferred the last phrase for the sake of the rhyme and added **הוא**, the last of which is also to be joined to the next word.

⁵⁸ The word **קִים**, which is frequently used by the mediæval payyetanîm as one of the epithets by which God is described (cf. **הי וקים נורא ומרום וקדוש**, used as a refrain in various parts of the liturgy for the holidays; cf. Berakoth, 32a), is probably borrowed from the Arabic **قَيُّومٌ** "lasting, unchangeable, God." Cf. Ben Sira [ed. Levi], chap. v, 42:23.

⁵⁹ **טהור** denoting ethical purity is found only in the later books of the Bible (Job 14:4; Prov. 22:11), and rarely used as a noun (cf. Eccles. 9:2, where it is used in parallelism with **צדיק** and **טוב**). In rabbinic and mediæval Jewish literature this word is also rarely used as a noun (cf. Baba Mezia', 86a, **שגופך טהור ונשמך טהור**).

⁶⁰ Cf. Shabbath, 33b, in interpretation of Gen. 33:18. In later Hebrew **שלם** is used in a more abstract sense, denoting intellectual and moral perfection. It is frequently employed in the long epithets preceding the name of one to whom a letter is addressed, either with or without the word **החכם**.

⁶¹ Hapax., Ps. 63:2.

⁶² **כהונה** as applied to the caliphate, and **כהן** (l. 8) to the caliph, is rather unusual.

The Arabic **كاهن** (*Kor.*, LII, 29) is applied to a soothsayer, usually the instrument of a demon. It is sometimes also used in the sense of priest. The Hebrew **כהן**, besides its regular meaning, is sometimes used to denote a king or a prince (Gen. 14:18; Exod. 2:16; 3:1; 18:1; Zech. 6:13; cf. 2 Sam. 8:18, where the children of David are called **כהנים**; also 20:26, where Ira the Jairite is called **כהן לדוד**). From Gen. 14:18 it appears that the king, who also performed priestly functions, was given the name of **כהן**. This may be the reason why our author uses this designation for the Egyptian caliph, who was regarded as the ecclesiastical chief of the Mohammedan world, at least by his followers.

⁶³This plural of אֲמָה is found only once (Ps. 117:1); otherwise the plural is אֲמָתָה (Gen. 25:16 [Ishmael], Numb. 25:15 [Midian]). The form אֲמָרִים is not found in the Bible; cf. l. 12, where the ׀ is omitted.

⁶⁴Cf. 2 Sam. 23:17, הֵלְכִים בְּנַפְשֹׁתָם (A. V. "that went in jeopardy of their lives"). The expression השְׁלִים נֶפֶשׁ is frequently used in payyetaic literature to denote the idea of sacrificing oneself; see Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie*, p. 641, n. 15.

⁶⁵See Judg. 11:6, 11; Josh. 10:24.

⁶⁶Especially applied to divine abode; see Ps. 68:6; 90:1; 2 Chron. 19:27; cf. Montgomery, "The Place," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XXIV, Part I (1905), p. 26.

⁶⁷See 2 Sam. 19:4.

⁶⁸Ezek. 21:14, 33.

⁶⁹In biblical usage "extreme" (Ps. 134:22). In rabbinic literature it sometimes has the meaning of destruction, in the same sense as used here; cf. Numb. Rabba, XVIII, 12.

⁷⁰Late Hebrew (Ezra 10:14; Neh. 10:35; 13:31), and rabbinic. The regular term for the summons of the court of justice is הַזְמִנָּה (Ḳiddushin, 70a).

⁷¹Cf. Ps. 78:69.

⁷²Aramaic and rabbinic (Ḥulin, 33a), probably related to the Arabic هَعَلَ = "to cut through, tear through," hence "decide" (Dan. 9:24); cf. Barth, *Etymologische Studien*, p. 23; Kohut, *Aruch Completum*, s. v.

⁷³Denominative from אָזַל ("strength," Ps. 22:20; 88:5). The verb is not found; cf. Schechter, *loc. cit.*, p. 111, Fragment XLI, l. 7.

⁷⁴The verb not found in the Bible. In rabbinic literature it means "to be pleasant" (Lam. Rabba, I, 38; Gen. Rabba, LXXXV, 4; Sukkah, 51a), and also "to be intoxicated" (Megillah, 7b; Baba Bathra, 73b; Shabbath, 66b; Sanhedrin, 38a), probably associated with the Arabic بَسَمَ = "to laugh, to be cheerful." The term מְבוּשֵׁם is used in common parlance as a euphemism for "drunk." For the expression רֵיחַ מְבוּשֵׁם see Cant. 4:10.

⁷⁵Refers to Badr al-Jamāli, at that time about sixty-two years old. He is probably the same one referred to in l. 11 as קֶצֶן צְבָאוֹת, since he held both offices at that time, that of chief of the army, chief kadi and chief court preacher; see "Historical Sketch."

⁷⁶Rabbinic, "completion, perfection" (Baba Mezia', 76b); also "to make a sign" (cf. סִמְנָן, Arab. سَمَّنًا, Gr. σημα). Here marks of distinction that were conferred upon Badr by the caliph.

⁷⁷Cf. Cant. 4:2; 6:6; for the idea, cf. Ps. 33:1; see Zunz, *loc. cit.*, pp. 69, 648. Probably refers to the friendship that existed between Badr and Mustanşir.

⁷⁸Used here in the same sense as the Arabic phrase مِنْ كُلِّ وَجْهٍ in every instance. The more usual form in mediæval Hebrew, however, is עַל כָּל פָּנִים.

⁷⁹Cf. Mal. 3:4; Ps. 104:34.

⁸⁰A play on עַם סִגְלָה (Deut. 7:6; 14:2; 26:18; cf. Eccles. 2:8; Baba Bathra, 52a). The term סִגְוֹל is not found. Used in later Hebrew in describing a man who is beloved by the people or by his fellow-students; see Schechter, *loc. cit.*, p. 63, n. 4.

⁸¹"Greetings;" cf. Berakoth, 14a.

⁸²Meaning somewhat obscure.

⁸³Exod. 30:24 ("in sacred oil"); Ezek. 27:19 ("merchandise"); see Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, §§ 290, 295.

⁸⁴An epithet given to Israel; see Ps. 68:7, and Rashi, *ad loc.*; cf. in liturgy for the festival of Sukkoth, Hosha'anot, s. v. יְחִידָה לִיחֵד, אֵם אֲנִי הוֹמָה, "the only one (Israel) to proclaim Thy unity."

⁸⁵חִידָה = "allegory, parable" (Prov. 1:6; Ezek. 17:2); הַגְיוֹנוֹם = "musing, meditation" (Ps. 19:5). Plural not found. "With earnest prayer."

⁸⁶Play on caliph's name.

⁸⁷Cf. Exod. 14:24; 23:27; see l. 3 and note.

⁸⁸Hiphil not found.

⁸⁹Cf. Deut. 14:1.

⁹⁰"Charity," later usage of the word. Cf. Berakoth, 6b, אֲנֵרָא דְהַעֲנִיתָ צְדָקָתָא "the merit in fasting lies in the charity distributed on that day."

⁹¹ Cf. 'Aboda Zarah, 7b.

⁹² This form of the plural is found only in Dan. 9:24, 25, 26; 10:2, 3; otherwise שבועות (Exod. 34:22; Deut. 16:9, 10, *et al.*).

⁹³ Cf. Ps. 42:4; 22:3.

⁹⁴ Cf. Deut. 32:4.

⁹⁵ As a rule, used in Niphal with ל (Gen. 25:21; Isa. 19:22).

⁹⁶ Cf. Ps. 64:3.

⁹⁷ See liturgy for Musaf of the Day of Atonement ('Abodah), *s. v.* ומרוב עינינו, where an alphabetical list is given of objects that Israel missed after the destruction of the temple. Cf. 1 Sam. 28:6.

⁹⁸ The lowest form of prophecy (Gen. 37:5-9; 40:8-19; chap. 41; Numb. 12:6; Job. 33:15; *et al.*). Much importance was attached to dreams in talmudic times, the most famous rabbis discussing dreams and their consequences with the greatest earnestness. Cf. especially Berakoth, 55a-57b; Hagigah, 5b. In the Middle Ages dreams were regarded by Jews with much concern (see Halevi, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 61, and Harkavy's note on p. 190), and to the present time Jews go to the rabbi for the purpose of having their dreams interpreted (see *Jewish Encyclopedia*, *s. v.* "Dreams").

⁹⁹ Cf. Jer. 5:26; Hab. 1:15.

¹⁰⁰ פחה with ל not found in Bible, usually takes direct object (Exod. 22:15; Jer. 20:7).

¹⁰¹ Aram. תהומא, Arab. نَحْمٌ = "boundary." In rabbinic legal phraseology, referring to the distance one may walk outside of the city limits on the sabbath, the term תחום שבת denotes 2,000 cubits on each side of the city; 'Erubin, 51b, *et al.*

¹⁰² Cf. Hab. 3:15; Job 9:8; דרך without preposition is unusual.

¹⁰³ Characteristic of Egypt; cf. Exod. 7:19; 8:1.

¹⁰⁴ Lev. 19:18; Nah. 1:2; in later Hebrew the phrase assumed a stronger meaning, "vindictive;" cf. Shabbath, 63a; Yoma, 23a.

¹⁰⁵ "Royal canopy" (Jer. 43:10). In the translation the view expressed by Bacher (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. XV, p. 87, n. 1), identifying שפריר with Fostat, was adopted; cf. Schechter, *loc. cit.*, Fragment XXXVIII, p. 89, l. 28 and n. 12. For the etymology of שפריר see Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 126.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Deut. 28:8; Prov. 3:10.

¹⁰⁷ Denominative from אכזר; cf. Numb. Rabba, VIII, 4.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Judg. 5:30 ("spoils of war"); Ezek. 26:16 ("garments of princes").

¹⁰⁹ Form probably influenced by מְשֻׁלָּשִׁים; מְשֻׁלָּשִׁים = "in battle array" (Exod. 13:18; Numb. 32:17; Josh. 1:14; 4:12; Judg. 7:11; cf. Halevi, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 28 = "ready, prepared").

¹¹⁰ Cf. Gen. 15:9; Ezek. 42:6; Eccles. 4:12; here probably denominative from שָׁלִישׁ = "officer" (Exod. 14:7; 2 Kings 7:2, 17, 19; 9:25; 15:25). Perhaps "divided in lines of five and three."

¹¹¹ "Terrors," ancient inhabitants of Moab (Gen. 14:5; Deut. 2:10, 11; Jer. 50:38; and Targum Jonathan, *ad loc.*, see l. 115).

¹¹² Cf. 1 Sam. 17:38; Ezek. 23:24 = כרבע, Ezek. 27:10; Isa. 59:17.

¹¹³ Cf. Jer. 6:23; 50:42.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Lam. 3:13 (בני אשפה); see Job 39:23; בנות אשפה not found.

¹¹⁵ Arab. فَيْل, Aram. פִּילָא, is recorded as having been used by Antiochus in his wars against the Maccabees, for the purpose of carrying confusion into the ranks of the enemy (2 Macc. 15:20; 3 Macc. 5:2; 1 Macc. 1:16; 4:30). In the Talmud better known because of its size than because of the noise it produced (Berakoth, 55b; Shabbath, 77b; cf. Lewysohn, *Zoologie des Talmuds*, § 173).

¹¹⁶ Cf. Isa. 17:12.

¹¹⁷ Aramaic construction, accusative suffix with pronoun.

¹¹⁸ שׂוּר in the sense of "opposite to" or "against" is not biblical; it usually means "in front of" without any idea of opposition.

¹¹⁹ Denominative from גָּרַר; cf. Jer. 5:7; Mic. 4:14.

¹²⁰ Cf. Isa. 28:11; 32:4; 33:19.

¹²¹ Reduplication from ערב, which is not found as a verb, but as a noun, indicating a heterogeneous body attached to a people (Neh. 13:3; Exod. 12:38 [ערב רב]; perhaps reduplicated for emphasis, as in פקח קוח, Isa. 61:1; לתפר פירות, Isa. 2:30; see Olshausen, *Hebräische Grammatik*, p. 354). In rabbinic literature this reduplication occurs with the meaning of mixing, confounding (Sanhedrin, 42a; Targum to Numb. 11:4 [אספסה = ערבברבן]; Kil'aim, V, 1, Exod. Rabba, XI, 3).

¹²² Armenians were known to the Jews as early as the time of the Maccabees (Josephus, *Antiquities*, XIII, 14, 4; cf. Yebamoth, 45a [captives that came from Armenia], cf. Neubauer, *La géographie du Talmud*, pp. 370, 371).

¹²³ Regularly used by mediæval Jewish writers to designate Christians, while "Ishmael" was the collective name for Mohammedans; see Rosin, *Ibn Ezra*, Vol. II, p. 90, n. 6; cf. I, 4, n. 8.

¹²⁴ Ionians, Greeks (Ezek. 27:13; Joel 14:6); descendants of Javan, son of Japheth (Gen. 10:2; cf. Baba Kama, 82b; Megillah, 9a; et al.).

¹²⁵ Cf. Gen. 10:3; Jer. 51:27; see Gen. Rabba, XXXVII, 1, where all three אשכנז ריפת ואשכנז are identified with גרמניקיא; see Yoma, 10b. In modern Hebrew this is the common appellation for Germany. See *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. II, s. v. "Ashkenazim."

¹²⁶ Gen. 10:3; cf. Josephus, *Antiquities*, I, 4, 1 = Paphlagonians.

¹²⁷ Gen. 10:3; Ezek. 27:14.

¹²⁸ Cf. Hagigah, 3b.

¹²⁹ Cf. Isa. 38:16; Job 39:4. In rabbinic literature used in opposition to שוטה (Rosh Hashanah, 28a; Tosefta Terumoth, I, 3; cf. Ibn Ezra, *Poems* [ed. Kahana], Vol. I, p. 58.

¹³⁰ Cf. Isa. 6:11.

¹³¹ Cf. Exod. 4:14.

¹³² Cf. Esther 4:13.

¹³³ Cf. Neh. 5:7.

¹³⁴ In the sense of "to fool, deceive;" cf. 1 Kings 18:27; Job 17:2.

¹³⁵ Obscure. Perhaps from rabbinic תחום = "boundary, to surround" (Baba Bathra, 56a; Pesikta, 137b). The context, however, points to נתחמים being the object of אמרים and not an epithet of עבדים. It is possible that it was meant to convey some such idea as "let us warm up, be inspired with hope" (נתחמים), but this is very much forced.

¹³⁶ Cf. Isa. 29:10; 33:15.

¹³⁷ Cf. Lam. 4:20.

¹³⁸ Cf. l. 79 זמרים is added to fill up the line and for the sake of the rhyme.

¹³⁹ Cf. Halevi (ed. Harkavy), Vol. I, p. 93, וכלם בטבעת ימין עליון התומים, referring to nature generally. Here the reference is to sins that are recorded in heaven; cf. Musaf prayer for the New Year and the Day of Atonement, s. v. ונתנה תקן, where it is supposed that every man testifies to his sins by his own signature וחותם יד כל אדם בו.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Gen. 7:4, 23; Deut. 11:6, not found in plural.

¹⁴¹ Reduplication from רכך or רכא = "to crush;" cf. Targum to Ps. 143:3; Lev. Rabba, XXXIV, 6; cf. Ben Sira (ed. Levi), 4:2.

¹⁴² "Silent, resigned," but perhaps "hopeful;" cf. Ps. 37:7; 62:6; Job 29:21. In 'Aboda of Jose ben Jose, דמומים = "dead;" see Zunz, *Synagogale Poesie*, p. 27.

¹⁴³ See "Historical Sketch." The second attack on Jerusalem occurred after the incident narrated here, but soon after. The expression "two years" is inaccurate, for the first conquest of Jerusalem took place in 463 A. H., while the second attack occurred in 469 A. H.

¹⁴⁴ "Hateful, hated" (cf. Prov. 22:14, זעום ר"י = "he with whom God is angry, the abhorred of God"); cf. Halevi, Vol. I, p. 93, רגעיו הזעומים = "hateful moments."

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Dan. 11:36.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Esther 2:1; 7:10.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Isa. 24:19.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Ps. 29:9; Jer. 49:10.

¹⁴⁹ Hos. 2:5; Jer. 51:34.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Isa. 57:5, from חמם = "inflare themselves." Here possibly from חם = "console themselves."

¹⁵¹ "Of noble descent;" cf. Tosefta Shc'kalim, II, 16.

¹⁵² "Delicate, daintily bred" (מענגה, Jer. 6:2; ענגה, Deut. 28:56); cf. Gittin, 56a, the story of Martha, daughter of Boetus.

¹⁵³ Cf. Lev. 13:45; Ezek. 24:17, 22; Mic. 3:7, prescribed for the mourner and for the leper. The reason for this custom in the case of the mourner has been variously explained by critics. The view of the older critics (Kamphausen, Hitzig, and Snend), that this was to serve as a symbol to the mourner that he was not to speak, although somewhat supported by rabbinic tradition, is rightly criticised by Frey (*Altisraelitische Totentrauer* [Jurjev, 1898], pp. 10-12). His criticism may further be corroborated by the fact that in Lev. 13:45 the leper is commanded to cover his lips and to cry out: "Unclean! Unclean!" The explanation offered by Frey, however, is rather unsatisfactory, nor does Schwally (*Leben nach*

dem Tode [Giessen, 1892], p. 16) offer a satisfactory explanation of this custom. More convincing is the suggestion of Toy (*Polychrome Bible*, Ezek. 24:17, note), that, in mourning, one is to reverse his habit of life. The beard was regarded as an ornament, hence it must be covered during the period of mourning. The difficulty only is that שפם does not mean the beard; at most it can have reference to the mustache.

According to rabbinic law, neither the mourner nor the leper was permitted to accost friends with the usual greeting. While in the case of the leper the law was derived from the expression עטה על שפם, in the case of the mourner the law was based on another expression (האֵזַק דָם, Ezek. 24:17). They also identified the covering of the head with the covering of the lips, thus making it obligatory upon the mourner and the leper to cover the head up to the lip, "like the covering of the Ishmaelites" (כְּעִטֵּיפַת יִשְׁמָעֵלִים); Mo'ed Kaṭan, 15a; cf. Jastrow, *Dictionary*, s. v. עִטֵּיפַת.

¹⁵⁴ See n. 143. This would point to the view that the covering of the lips was regarded as a symbol of silence. Cf., however, Brown's edition of Gesenius, *Heb. Dictionary*, s. v. דָּמָם. II, where the word is also given the meaning of "wailing" (Ass. *damamu*), especially in Isa. 23:2; cf. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 64, n. 2.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Dan. 10:21; see n. 139. ¹⁵⁶ Cf. Isa. 3:12; 9:15. ¹⁵⁷ Cf. Jer. 4:22. ¹⁵⁸ Cf. Isa. 3:4.

¹⁵⁹ "By halters, muzzled;" cf. Ps. 32:9; Ḥulin, 89a (based on Job 26:7); Targum to Isa. 32:4.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Zech. 1:14; 8:2; Joel 2:18; Ezek. 39:25.

¹⁶¹ From זָרָה (= "scatter," Ezek. 5:10, 12).

¹⁶² "Carried away as by a flood;" cf. Ps. 90:5; 77:18.

¹⁶³ Cf. Deut. 29:28.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. Jer. 2:22. This is rather an unusual meaning given to the word כְּתָם. In rabbinic literature it is used as a technical term, referring to a dark-red stain on a woman's clothes or body, as an indication of uncleanness (Niddah, 4b, 5a; cf. Syr. כְּתָם = "stain"). In the Bible it means "gold" (Prov. 25:12; Job 28:19; Cant. 5:11; Lam. 14:1). In later Hebrew it means "a stain," from which the idea of "sin" or a "stain on the soul" was taken (cf. Isa. 1:18; Midrash Tehillim to Ps. 16:1; Halevi, *Poems*, Vol. II, p. 32). Here the meaning probably is "they multiplied sins," a play on שָׁנָה or שָׁנָה.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Hos. 4:2; Alcharizi, *Tachkemoni* (ed. Kaminka), p. 81.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Deut. 25:19.

¹⁶⁷ Arab. سَم, Aram. רִיתְמָא = a kind of brown plant (Ps. 120:4; Job 30:4). It is

supposed to produce great heat and retain the heat for a long time (see Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, p. 366; cf. Cheyne, to Ps. 120:4). The embers of this plant are taken as a symbol for various things (cf. Midrash Tehillim, *ad loc.*), but especially for the fire of Gehenna ('Arakin, 15b); cf. services for the Eve of Atonement, s. v. כְּהוֹרֵם).

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Jer. 3:3.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Ps. 65:11.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Isa. 1:9.

¹⁷¹ Cf. Mal. 3:24.

¹⁷² Cf. Jer. 2:20. "Assyrians and Northerners" here seem to refer to no particular nation, but used as a general appellation for the enemy.

¹⁷³ A strange expression; cf. Prov. 23:25; Ps. 74:6; Halevi, *Poems*, Vol. I, p. 63.

¹⁷⁴ For the derivation of the word فُسْطَاط see Butler, *Arabic Conquest of Egypt* (Oxford, 1902), p. 340 and note; cf. Bacher, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. XV, p. 87, n. 1; see n. 106.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Numb. 24:3, 15; Gen. 19:11.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. Ps. 22:22; Deut. 33:17; Shabbath, 107b; 'Abodah Zarah, 3b; Zebahim, 113b; cf. Cant. 6:4, 10; see Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, pp. 58 sqq., a disquisition on the word דָּגַל and its usage in Assyrian. For רָאם cf. *ibid.*, pp. 15 sqq., 23; Lewysohn, *Zoologie des Talmuds*, § 174.

¹⁷⁷ See "Historical Sketch."

¹⁷⁸ "Good star, or luck," the regular greeting among Jews on joyous occasions. מִזַּל meaning "luck" is frequently used in rabbinic literature (Ta'anith, 29b; Shabbath, 53b; *et al.*). Our author is especially fond of this expression; see ll. 119, 130.

¹⁷⁹ The plural of רִנָּה or רִנָּה (Job 3:7) is found once as רִנְנוּת (Ps. 63:6). The plural רִנְנוּת is found in Job 39:13, meaning "singing birds."

¹⁸⁰ "Like as," "about" (Kethuboth, 17a; Shabbath, 51a; Mishnah Berakoth, V, 5).

¹⁸¹ The number 200 days is probably very nearly correct. Damascus was taken by Atsiz in Du-l-Hijja of 468, and the siege of Cairo took place in 469 (Jumada II, 24), which would make the intervening period about six months.

¹⁸² Probably a reminiscence of the Israelitish camp in the wilderness that was protected by a column of cloud by day and by a column of light by night (Exod. 13:21, 22; Deut. 1:33; cf. Ps. 18:12; Job 36:39; Lam. 3:43).

¹⁸³ Probably shortened from **וַיִּצֵא**; cf. Zunz, *Synagogale Poesie*, p. 121.

¹⁸⁴ Analogy of **עָרַר** verbs.

¹⁸⁵ **אֵימִים** added for the rhyme; cf. *Tachkemoni* (ed. Kaminka), p. 81, where **אֵימִים** is used as plural of **אֵימָה**; otherwise the plural is **אֵימֹת** (Ps. 55:5).

¹⁸⁶ An Aramean or Arabic tribe against whom the Reubenites waged war during the reign of Saul (1 Chron. 5:10, 19). In the last-quoted verse it is mentioned in connection with **יִטְרֹד נִפְשׁוֹ** (cf. Gen. 25:15; 1 Chron. 1:31), thus indicating the descent from Ishmael (cf. Ps. 83:7). In rabbinical times and in mediæval Jewish literature Hagri was identified with Arabia, and later generally with the Mohammedan world (Numb. Rabba, XIII, 3; Halevi, *Poems*, Vol. II, p. 20; *Tachkemoni*, ed. Kaminka, p. 10; cf. Kaempf, *Die erste Makamen aus dem Tachkemoni oder Divan des Charizi* (Berlin, 1845), p. 72, n. 11. It is also identified with Hungary, especially by modern Jewish writers; see *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s. v. "Hagar," "Hagrim."

¹⁸⁷ Cf. Judg. 5:14; Neh. 9:22, 24.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. Ps. 33:10; **צִוֵּר** perhaps a reminiscence of the caliph's name.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. Isa. 2:9, 11, 17.

¹⁹⁰ Favorite expression with mediæval Jewish poets, especially with Halevi; see his *Poems*, ed. Harkavy, Vol. I, pp. 48, 50, 97, 123, 128, 144; Vol. II, pp. 48, 49, 51, 52; *et al.* The expression **עֵשׂ עַל בְּנוֹת עֵשׂ** is not found in the Bible; cf. Job 38:22, **עֵשׂ עַל בְּנוֹת עֵשׂ**.

¹⁹¹ Arabic influence **اللّٰه الرحمان الرحيم**. In Hebrew liturgic literature the usual expression is **אֵל הַרְחָמִים**.

¹⁹² Deut. 2:20; name given by the Amonites to the Rephaim who once inhabited their land, but had afterward been expelled by them, a people "great and many and tall like the Anakim;" cf. Driver, *ad loc.*; Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, s. v. Here used figuratively for a strong people.

¹⁹³ Cf. Ps. 136:17, 18; 135:10.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. Ps. 38:14.

¹⁹⁵ **שָׁעָה** with **ב** means "to delight in" (Ps. 119:117); here, however, "to listen to prayer;" cf. Gen. 4:4, 5; see Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 39. **פָּגַעַ**, meaning "to pray," is found in the Bible (Isa. 53:12; Jer. 36:25), and also in rabbinic literature. (Hulin, 91b; Gen. Rabba, LXVIII, 11, referring to Gen. 28:11; cf. Rashi, *ad loc.*).

¹⁹⁶ Perhaps **רְדוּמִים** "benumbed, dead;" cf. Esther Rabba, VII, 18, Yozer for Purim s. v. **בְּרֹאשָׁה**.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. liturgy for Shabu'oth, s. v., **אֲתָר מִצְוֹת וְחֻקִּים**, where the same form occurs; Berliner, *Synagogale Poesie* (Berlin, 1884), Vol. I, p. 18.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. hymn in daily liturgy, s. v. **וְהוּא הוּא וְהוּא הוּא וְהוּא הוּא**; **אֲדוֹן עוֹלָם**.

¹⁹⁹ Plural not found. As verb found only in Kal, Jer. 23:31.

²⁰⁰ Quadriliteral from **כָּסַם**, with the insertion of **ר** (Ps. 80:14); cf. rab. **קָרַס** "cut, prune," (of insects) "bite, nibble" (Peah, II, 7; Shabbath, XII, 2); cf. Arab. **يَقْرُضُهَا** = "to cut," and Saadia's commentary to Ps. 80:14, **قَرَضَ**.

²⁰¹ This passage may be taken to refer either to the chiefs of the enemy coming to the king with baskets on their shoulders (as a sign of submission; cf. Ps. 81:7, and Delitzsch, *ad loc.*), or to the heads, literally, of the enemy being brought to the king by his own officers in baskets, as a sign of victory (cf. 2 Kings 10:17, the heads of the children of Ahab brought to Jehu). The first rendering is adopted in the translation, although the second is also possible.

²⁰² Cf. Esther 8:5 with **לִפְנֵי**; passive participle not found in the Bible; in rabbinic literature usually spelled without **נ** and has the meaning of "accessible, frequent" ('Araki, 30b; Sanhedrin, 86a). The meaning here is obscure. They came (to meet) the king who is *given* to grace, magnanimity (?). Emendation of **מִצְדָּר** would not be borne out by the context.

²⁰³ Obscure. "Presents, gifts" (?); cf. Pesahim, 21b, but there **נִתְּנָה**. Perhaps "the star was powerful in their being *delivered*."

²⁰⁴ Cf. Judg. 19:29, 30, the incident at Gibeā, when the man cut his Pilegesh into twelve pieces, which he sent to the twelve tribes of Israel in order to incite them to war against the inhabitants of Gibeā.

²⁰⁵ Cf. Gen. 41:8; Dan. 2:1.

²⁰⁶ From כִּנָּן or כִּנֵּן "to establish, arrange;" תִּקְוָה means "appointed measure or number" (Exod. 5:18; Ezek. 45:11); here, probably, "fixity, immovableness, soundness."

²⁰⁷ Connected with פָּצַע (Exod. 21:25) "wound;" lit. "split open" (comp. Arab. فَصَمَ = "crack"); cf. Ps. 60:4.

²⁰⁸ Appellation given to Ishmael (Mohammedan world generally); cf. Halevi, *Poems* ed. Harkavy, Vol. II, pp. 61, 151.

²⁰⁹ Cf. Sanhedrin, 91a; see n. 143.

²¹⁰ Cf. 1 Kings 13:24, 25, 28; Jer. 36:30.

²¹¹ Cf. Exod. 8:10.

²¹² Hapax., Cant. 2:11.

²¹³ Form not found; cf. Job 37:17 (חֲמִירִים); see Jer. 36:30 for the idea.

²¹⁴ Cf. Ps. 118:22.

²¹⁵ Cf. Ps. 126; אֲלֻמִּים found only once (Gen. 37:7), usually אֲלֻמֹּת (Gen. 37:7; Ps. 126:6); reminiscences of Joseph's dream.

²¹⁶ Monday, Shebat 26, 4837 A. M.; January 23, 1077; Jumada II, 24, 469. אַרְבַּע נְשָׂאֵר, Arabic influence. מִשְׁטֵּימִיִּים = 1009, if we consider the final ם as 600; cf. König, *Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache*, Vol. II, Div. I, p. 231.

²¹⁷ See "The Author."

²¹⁸ Cf. Ps. 33:4.

²¹⁹ The numerical value of קָטַם = 149. קָטַם = "cutting off, lopping, chopping off" (Arab. قَطَمَ = فَطَعَ); cf. Shebi'ith, II, 4; Sukkah, III, 4; *et al.*; refers to the destruction of the enemy.

²²⁰ Cf. Prov. 3:15.

Contributed Notes.

THE MIR'ÂT AZ-ZAMÂN.

Among Arabic works which furnish more or less material for the history of the Crusades, the *Mir'ât az-Zamân* of Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzī has long been known to western scholars. Though the work is an extended one, yet practically the whole of it, down to and including the events of the year 633 A. H., exists, one part here and another there, in the various libraries of Europe.¹ The last part, however, covering the period beginning with the year 534 A. H. and extending to the year of the author's death, just that part of the history, namely, as to which the author might well be supposed to have been able to secure the fullest and most accurate information, was, till recently, regarded as unfortunately missing. Now it happens that in the library of Yale University, among the collection of Arabic manuscripts made by Count Landberg, and so generously given to Yale by Mr. Morris K. Jesup, there is a manuscript of precisely this part of the *Mir'ât az-Zamân*. This manuscript (Yale 136) begins with an account of the year 495 A. H., and extends to the year 654 A. H., the year of the author's death. The importance of this manuscript was recognized by Landberg, and need not be enlarged upon. A study of the manuscripts in London, Oxford, Leyden, and Paris this summer showed clearly that this manuscript differs markedly from the European manuscripts of that portion of the *Mir'ât az-Zamân* that covers the years from 440 A. H. on, and evidently belongs to a different recension. The relation of Yale 136 to the manuscripts referred to above will be discussed in the introduction to a critical edition of the text, in preparation for which certain photographs and copies have already been made. For the present it is sufficient to say that, through the liberality of the authorities of the Yale library in loaning the manuscript to the University of Chicago for an extended period, it has been possible to prepare a fac-simile edition of it, and that this edition will be published in a few months. There will be 529 pages of Arabic text, twenty-five lines to the page, also a very short introduction and a table of errata which, it is hoped, may be even shorter. It is hoped that this edition may be instrumental in extending the interest in, and the knowledge of, this great Arabic history.

JAMES RICHARD JEWETT.

¹For an account of the author and of the various MSS. of the work, cf. Wüstenfeld's *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, No. 340, and Brockelmann's *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, Vol. I, pp. 347, 348.

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PRESIDENT HARPER AND OLD TESTAMENT
STUDIES.

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The death of President William R. Harper has removed from the world of students a strong and unique personality, and in the sorrow created by it those concerned with Semitic, and especially with Old Testament, studies have their keen share. His public connection with them covered more than twenty-five years, and the circumstances of it appealed to the imagination. He was the representative, and indeed the embodiment, of these studies for a large circle of men and women who were introduced to them, directly and indirectly, through him. Some thus came to an intimate knowledge of them. More reached a superficial, though often enthusiastic, acquaintance. Still others merely watched the phenomenon, with keen interest, from without. For all of these he held the middle of the field. He did nothing for display, but everything for efficiency, and from this point of view his life was not only an achievement, it was an astonishing spectacle.

In any case, it would not be time yet to estimate justly Dr. Harper's place in the department of Semitic learning, and the phenomenal quality in his work adds to the difficulty. The enthusiasm of loyal pupils does not promote impartiality nor find it easy to discriminate between the man and the scholar. On the other hand, a purely scholarly judgment may underestimate the worth of a pupil's insight, and lose the large impression in the criticism of details, while the very fact of wide popularity among the uncritical may awaken the scholar's prejudice or suspicion.

Under these circumstances, and with the bias of warm personal friendship, it would be impossible for the present writer, even if he were otherwise competent to do so, to attempt a thoroughly critical estimate of Dr. Harper's work in the Semitic languages, and particularly in biblical scholarship. Nothing more is possible than a rapid review of that work in a spirit of sincere appreciation which it will be the endeavor not to devitalize and invalidate by indiscriminating eulogy. Flattery is the subtlest form of contempt for the dead as for the living, and Dr. Harper's reputation needs only the respect of perfect truthfulness to insure real fame.

Semitic studies in this country have had an interesting history.¹ They began with the first generation of settlers in New England. The early presidents of Harvard were orientalists of repute. Hebrew was long a required study, because education was essentially religious, and because the larger part of the Bible was in Hebrew. Like studies were fostered at Yale. Hebrew words were engraved on the original seal of Dartmouth College. The Dutch and Scottish settlers of New York and New Jersey brought with them the same insistence on the language of the Old Testament. The study was by degrees limited to students for the ministry, and grew somewhat perfunctory, even for them. A great revival of interest, both linguistic and exegetical, was led by Moses Stuart, a graduate of Yale, who became professor at Andover Theological Seminary in 1810. Hebrew had never died out in the middle states, and it reached a position of importance at Princeton, under Professor Joseph Addison Alexander, and his successor, Professor William Henry Green; but Stuart was a more brilliant pioneer. Stuart had many apt pupils—though none his equal as a teacher. Among the most famous was Edward Robinson, through whom a new center of these studies was established in New York. The newer western institutions were in large part manned by students of these eastern teachers. But not all. Harper was seven years old when Robinson died, but Harper's Semitic genealogy did not originate in that line. His first impulse toward Semitic study was due to an independent strain of Scotch blood. It is to be traced directly back to the

¹ Its details are scattered through various books, pamphlets, and articles, but it was summed up, near the close of the last century, in the two admirable papers by Professor George F. Moore, D.D., of Harvard, in the *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1888-89, under the title "Alttestamentliche Studien in Amerika."

zeal for knowledge and the demand for a learned ministry on the part of a people whose love for theology is democratic enough to demand thorough equipment on the part of its religious leaders. If Muskingum College, at New Concord, Ohio—an institution of whose existence many thousands of persons have learned since Dr. Harper's death, from the simple fact that he studied there—had not been founded by Scotchmen, chiefly for the training of ministers, and had not required Hebrew as a part of its course, it is not probable that Stuart and Robinson or their followers would have taken its place, and led Harper into Semitic paths. His precocity was, of course, an element in the case. To have learned enough Hebrew at fourteen to pronounce an oration—of whatever quality—in that language, is to have put behind one its superficial difficulties at an age that gives a long start over most students of it.²

His teacher at Muskingum was Rev. David Paul, at that time president of the college. The studies of his early boyhood stimulated his taste for language, as such, and this led him, at seventeen, to Yale, and a cosmopolitan atmosphere of learning. His life at Yale took the place, for him, of study at a foreign university. Professor William D. Whitney taught him Sanskrit, and sound philological method, and through Professor George E. Day he came into the line of New England Hebraists who looked back to Moses Stuart as their head. Professor Whitney, also, saw the opportunity for Semitic scholarship and influenced him that way, although his thesis for the degree of doctor of philosophy was in the Sanskrit field. This was in 1875, when he was nineteen years of age.

Then followed three and a half years of school administration and teaching, mainly classical; and in January, 1879, he began to teach Hebrew in the Baptist Union Theological Seminary at Morgan Park, a suburb of Chicago. In less than two years his eagerness and his success as a Hebrew teacher were making him a national figure. His summer schools and correspondence school, his textbooks and his periodicals, were all so many ways of bringing his teaching power to bear on increasing classes of students. Still wider scope was given to his activities by his call to Yale as professor of Semitic languages in 1886, and his incumbency of

²If we smile at the "Hebrew oration," we may remember that this was a usage at the Harvard commencement till 1817—hardly more than fifty years earlier.

the Woolsey professorship of biblical literature in the same university, in 1889. In 1891 he became president of the new University of Chicago, and although this exacting position lessened the time he could give to Semitic and biblical studies, it greatly increased his general influence even in these particular fields.

Dr. Harper gained a useful degree of acquaintance with other Semitic languages, and gave instruction in several of them at different times. But it is only in the department of Hebrew and the Old Testament that the published materials permit any attempt to estimate his scholarly attainments.

It has already appeared that Dr. Harper's first taste of Hebrew came through a branch of Scotch Presbyterianism, and that the influences set at work by Moses Stuart reached him only in his second stage. All the more attractive is the parallel between these two great teachers of Hebrew and of the Old Testament. Both were enthusiastic students, of acquisitive powers far above the common. Both were drawn to the Semitic field as by magnetic power. Its importance, current neglect of it, its fresh possibilities, largely unknown, enticed and held them. Both were forced by circumstances to depend much on private study, and both diligently used the books of others. Both were effective teachers, and communicated their ardor for study to many pupils. Both thus became the heads of important revival movements in Old Testament science. Both found it necessary to publish textbooks to meet the demand which their own work had created. There were, no doubt, striking differences between them—and not in personal quality alone. Harper was able to create machinery which enlarged his direct influence to an extent quite unthinkable in the staid conditions of Andover Hill. His summer schools and correspondence school multiplied his pupils many fold, and his instinctive appeal to the average man expanded the constituency of these schools quite beyond the limits of a single profession. In the introductory editorial to the first number of *Hebraica* (March, 1884), he wrote: "Within three years there has been organized and carried into successful operation a school for the study of Hebrew by correspondence. This school, at this writing, includes over six hundred clergymen and students. The members of the school are of every evangelical denomination. They reside in almost every state in the Union, in Canada, in England,

in Scotland, in Ireland, in Turkey, in China, in Japan, in India." Stuart had no such effect as this! On the other hand, Harper found much more material ready to his hand, and he enjoyed much greater fellowship and sympathy. The movement begun by Stuart, and carried on by his pupils and theirs, had been reinforced, over and over again, by European learning, and was gaining vigor and effectiveness. Harper had this at his disposal, and he employed it from fresh centers, with a strong increment from his own incisive energy, in spreading knowledge more widely among the people. This applies to his linguistic work, and still more to his work in the study of the Old Testament as literature. Stuart had learned from Gesenius and Seiler the modern method of interpretation by grammar and lexicon, and this method, largely through Stuart, had become thoroughly acclimatized in this country. To Harper it came by inheritance, rather than by discovery. His two years at Yale determined this. If Stuart's American world was smaller, the effect of his teaching, as far as it reached, was intense and productive, and Yale was well within his world. Both had pupils who showed their appreciation of their masters by carrying on advanced studies elsewhere. Here, again, Stuart's men prepared the way for the later generation. It was a more uncommon and venturesome thing for Edward Robinson to study in Göttingen, Halle, and Berlin, than any man can appreciate who has gone to Germany as a student since Harper began to teach. The parallel might run out into unprofitable comparisons, but it is obvious enough on the surface to give point and interest to close inquiry.

To Professor Harper's Hebrew scholarship it was both an advantage and a serious disadvantage that his teaching of it was so successful and so absorbing. We hear that to teach a subject is the best way to learn it, but this aphorism is obviously of limited application. Elementary teaching may secure a firm grasp of the elements, but it may actually preclude, by its demands on time and strength, large strides in the higher ranges of a great subject. Those who teach the multiplication table every day, and twice a day, do not fit themselves thereby to lecture on quaternions.

The ideal authority in any field of scholarship is a man who has mastered his subject in its outlines and its details, who has explored its depths and climbed to its heights, who is full of

knowledge, common and recondite both, and whose mind is so adjusted to the possibilities of his field that his judgment decides questions that arise in it by a swift instinct, incommunicable but unerring. Men resort to him as to a storehouse of knowledge, and accept his statement of the facts in place of observing them for themselves; men depend upon his judgment of matters related to his specialty with confidence, and build on his opinions great fabrics of conclusion. Doubtless scholars often make mistakes and err in judgment, but this proves no more than that they only approach the ideal and do not in fact reach it. And even the approach to it is by no royal road. The habitual quiet of the study, freedom from distractions, the testings of the laboratory, deliberation in proving conclusions, the slow seasoning of opinions, lack of haste in publishing them, the quickening of the sensitive faculties of the mind which are dulled if they are overtaxed or hurried, all the ripening processes which must supplement the acquisitive powers, to bring the fruits of knowledge to a sound maturity—these things are essential to the scholar, and possible in satisfying degree only for those who add to a love of knowledge, and a deep respect for it—a sense of the worth of absolute devotion to even a small segment of it—the freedom from preoccupation and from distraction about many things, which gives devotion to knowledge its opportunity.

In thus describing the exacting life of pure scholarship, it is evident that one leaves out important elements of the exacting life of President Harper, and perhaps includes some things for which that life had little room.

Could a man, occupied as he was occupied, with the many plans which sprang from his fertile brain demanding administrative and executive care—in spite of his great facility in using the services of others—be an absolute devotee of pure scholarship? There is no doubt that pure scholarship was an object of his strong desire—appealing to him with the attractive power of a luxury almost within reach. But there probably has never been a human brain, however gifted, that was capable at once of carrying on such large and varied affairs as fell to Dr. Harper's lot—by the very necessity of his gifts, as well as of his circumstances—his gifts shaping his circumstances to a great degree—and at the same time of rising to the very highest heights of technical scholarship.

Far from belittling his scholarly attainments, these conditions make it possible for us to appreciate them at their real value. It is remarkable that, under the conditions of his life, he was able to command as much of Semitic knowledge as he did, and to express such well-considered opinions on Semitic matters. The scholarship of a man like this has peculiar value because it carries so far. It does not become trivial by the fact that there may be other scholarship more prodigious. Not many men know Hebrew as well as Dr. Harper knew it. And what man has made his knowledge more thoroughly effective?

The chief feature of Dr. Harper's intellectual life has been barely hinted at thus far. Here was a highly original man, at the post of a scholar, with a large share of a scholar's attainments, whose originality was directed to practical ends. These were, of course, in no sense material ends. They were practical ways of bringing scholarship to bear effectively on the mental life of the largest numbers. For this he was equipped in a degree quite exceptional. His great faculty of administering affairs appeared in the constitution of his Summer and Correspondence Schools, and—less visible to the multitude, but of equal efficiency—in the organization of the Hebrew and Semitic studies at Morgan Park, at Yale and at the University of Chicago.

No qualification is needed in speaking of Dr. Harper as a teacher. He had a genius for communicating knowledge. This included—as it must always include—an intuitive perception of the mental attitude and furniture of the average pupil, and the gift of seeing with distinctness what he wished to teach, and of expressing it with precision. These qualities were heightened by training, and were backed by an unwearying patience, by a sturdy insistence on thoroughness, and by an absolute conviction of the worth of the study in which he and his pupils were engaged. Repetition did not grow tedious to him. That a student should master the elements of Hebrew was of more consequence to him than that he himself should have leisure for grammatical or exegetical inquiry. He gave himself ungrudgingly in his teaching work. To a remarkable degree these characteristics appear in his lesson leaves and textbooks. His *Elements of Hebrew* (1881-82), *Hebrew Method and Manual* (1883), *Vocabularies* (1881-82), and *Syntax* (1888) have been used in more than one hundred and fifty institutions, distributed in thirty-two states and territories

of this republic as well as several foreign countries. In this way his influence on the teaching of Hebrew has been extraordinary.

The processes of instruction are displayed in these, and not the mere facts of knowledge. Therefore they will always have value for educators quite distinct from their value to research students. It is probable that groups of persons so many and so large have never been so well taught as his Hebrew classes were, in the sense of acquiring exactly what he aimed to impart to them. They gained the ability to read Hebrew with some facility, and, what is more, with much pleasure. The world of the Old Testament took on new life for them. Some of them, after further training, became Old Testament experts; many of them became intelligent and sympathetic students of the Old Testament, to whom the language had ceased to be a barrier or a bugbear, and had become a means of better understanding and of finer appreciation.

It is difficult to overestimate such a service as this. Each man who is affected by it is enriched and enlarged. It was always present to Dr. Harper's mind that in a subject closely related to religion, like the language of the Old Testament, a larger intelligence means new light on religious facts and new agencies for religious influence. But this may, for the moment, be left at one side. From the point of view of special scholarship the widespread results of such teaching raise the general level. They make special studies easier. They provide conditions from which the accomplished scholar more easily springs. They supply him with a responsive constituency. One in twenty of the eager pupils may grow qualified to teach others what he has learned, and so the constituency increases. One in a hundred—or five hundred—may be led to pursue higher studies with the best masters, and so, in time, to become himself a master with authority, and so the science advances. It is a great and good achievement to have made Hebrew and the Old Testament—to say nothing of the kindred languages and their literatures—accessible and delightful to a large company of men and women—good for them, and a great thing for the future of Hebrew studies and the scientific study of the Old Testament.

Some dangers are involved. There is the danger, for the teacher, of seeming to countenance low and imperfect standards of scholarship, and, for the pupil, the danger of superficial knowledge and superficial judgment, and the danger of thinking that

if so much can be gained so early, even mastery itself cannot require much more. But these dangers are inherent in popular education, and are not half so bad as the dangers of ignorance. The student who knows a little may sometimes be opinionated and impertinent, but on the whole the man who knows nothing is a greater menace. The beginner may not understand how much is beyond him, but he is likely to have a juster idea of it than one who has never begun. And all fresh knowledge gives a freer atmosphere, and tends toward the hospitable mind. Whatever drawbacks attended Dr. Harper's success were far more than outweighed by its permanent value in the general life of the intellect.

Opinions will differ as to the relative importance of different elements in his method of teaching. Dr. Harper himself ascribed the chief value to its "inductive" feature, by which the pupil is introduced to the facts of language, and led to build up the rules of linguistic usage for himself on the basis of these facts. As far as this means concrete dealing with the actual material, at an early stage of study, and is opposed to abstract formula, it is no doubt fundamental. Dr. Harper's way of applying his principle was certainly, in his hands, highly effective. It might be called the method of giving illustrations before stating rules. When combined with the method of applying the rules widely after they have been stated, it is evidently fruitful. It is less adapted to a book of reference than to an elementary textbook. It is perhaps more appropriate to the *Introductory Hebrew Method and Manual* than to the *Elements of Hebrew*, especially since the latter became, in a sense, a book of reference for those using the former. Perhaps the fact that the *Elements* was published first (in 1881; the *Manual* in 1883) may have something to do with the maintenance of this order of the material in the reference volume. However this may be, and while it would be foolish to undervalue a system which has yielded such results in practice, there can be little doubt that Dr. Harper never did justice in his public utterances—and probably he never did in his own mind—to the part played by his unusual powers of selection and clear statement. From the mass of linguistic facts he picked out the essential—*i. e.*, the things essential for a beginner to know—and left the rest unnoticed. The embarrassment of larger knowledge, the burdening sense of exceptions and needed qualifications, which oppresses many gifted teachers and enfeebles their teaching, is

not an embarrassment or a burden in these books. He has selected from his available store that which is immediately useful, and that alone. And having selected it, he puts it before his pupils with brevity and in lucid terms. It is impossible to misunderstand what he says, or be confused by it. Without at all belittling the "inductive" method, it is pretty certain that if the choice were forced upon us between having first the facts and then muddled explanations of them, or first transparent statements and then the illustrative facts, the latter would gain a unanimous vote. So that we must recognize once more the pre-eminent gifts of the man as contributing to the success of his method.

His principle of introducing, at an early stage, some elements of comparative Semitic grammar is worthy of all praise. He could not claim, in 1881, to be a great Semitic philologist. But his mind grasped the relations of things, and he knew, with the teacher's insight, how a bit of philological history lights up the gray waste of linguistic desert in which beginners in Hebrew sometimes seem to themselves to be wandering. Perhaps if his own studies in this history had been larger, he would have been less able to use what he had for the benefit of his pupils. The gift of employing, without loss, all that he had was no small factor in his success.

His *Hebrew Vocabularies* (1881-82), also, were strongly advocated by him, and diligently employed. The plan of grouping words by the frequency of their use is the salient point in his system here, and is certainly correct. His own insistence on the committing to memory these lists of words carried many students through the drudgery of it. But the general demand for this book has not approached that for his other textbooks, and many teachers have found that a less mechanical, more gradual, not to say insinuating, demand upon the student's memory is workable, and is more natural and even more truly "inductive."

The soil was to some extent prepared for such a crop of interest in Hebrew studies. The great impulse given to them by Stuart, Robinson, Alexander, and the rest had not wholly lost its headway among the ministry. The fresh energy devoted to them in at least one theological seminary of the eastern states, under the vigorous leadership of a strong teacher of unusual gifts, trained by long study abroad, was making itself felt before Harper went to Mor-

gan Park. Modern principles of biblical study were announced in the same quarter. The trial and quasi-condemnation of a brilliant and competent scholar in Scotland, William Robertson Smith, with its accompanying spread of his opinions in attractive form, drew much attention in this country, and turned the thoughts of many into channels to which they had been strangers. During the greater part of Dr. Harper's public service, and side by side with it, movements that in some cases amounted to convulsions were going on in several of the great ecclesiastical bodies, over the same biblical questions. There was a general breaking up of the old ground, and a fertilizing of it with new ideas. Others, also, were cultivating it in ways different from his. Large enterprises were undertaken in behalf of Old Testament science, and for the better knowledge of the ancient Semitic world. Dr. Harper was thus not summoned to clear and till a virgin field, nor was he an isolated husbandman. But, when all is said, it was he who saw how large the opportunity was, who perceived the ranges along which it especially lay, who was qualified in a peculiar degree to take it, and who devoted himself without reserve, and at great personal cost, to grasping and improving it to the utmost limits of his power. His service to Semitic studies was great in fostering other branches of them than those to which he more especially gave himself. Hebrew and the Old Testament belonged in a peculiar sense to him, yet he applied himself in private study—and with the eager diligence that characterized him in all things—to Arabic and to Assyrian, and he had classes in these languages at times. He learned something of other Semitic languages. But in none of them did he feel at home to the degree that he did in Hebrew, and in the Old Testament books, where teaching and public lecturing for a long series of years gave him easy familiarity with what he taught. All the more generously did he open the way for others to specialize in the various divisions of the great field. Qualified men were encouraged to devote themselves to these subjects, and opportunities opened to teach them in his various schools. In every case, whether in Hebrew or any other branch, Dr. Harper gave promising scholars the chance to show the best that was in them. The list is a considerable one—at least forty or fifty names—of those who came under his influence for a longer or shorter time, and afterward found positions of usefulness as Semitic and biblical teachers.

His great desire was to see departments of Semitic languages spring up in all colleges and universities. This desire was realized to some extent, if not in its full measure. The attempt has been made in many places. In some it has succeeded. In some the only form of it has been as an attachment to a biblical chair. In few has there been any generous equipment for such a department, and the attempt to provide it has in some instances been withdrawn altogether, and that in quarters where it would least have been expected. On the whole, however, his contagious enthusiasm bore larger fruit in this direction than would have come in many years by the combined efforts of less persistent and effective men. The idea has grown familiar, the need has been presented. Its results thus far commend it, and the preceding era of indifference to Semitic and even to biblical knowledge in courses of general education has passed, we may hope forever. The elective system, which, whatever its defects and drawbacks, has enabled higher institutions to offer hospitality to all branches of human knowledge, will not tolerate, in the long run, a neglect of subjects of such human dignity and such practical significance as these, and, as endowments increase, ampler provision will be made for these studies which Dr. Harper so deeply felt to be a general concern of men.

The breadth and depth of his scholarly interests are shown in two fields of which the past century has taught us the importance—that of periodical literature, and that of discovery by exploration and excavation.

Of his enterprise in the latter field, and its actual yield to Old Testament study, it is too early to say much. Nor is it important to do so, for the present purpose. Dr. Harper did not himself engage in exploration. The expedition to Bismya, under the auspices of the University of Chicago, and Professor Breasted's original work in Egypt and Egyptian sources, were matters in which he took the liveliest interest, and they attested his restless energy in pushing out many lines of search and research for contributions to the subjects which lay near his heart.

In the periodicals, however, he was personally and closely involved from first to last.

The periodicals were of two distinct kinds: some had a popular and some a scientific purpose. The *Hebrew Student* (1882) was the first of them all, and represented both types, but the differ-

entiation began with *Hebraica* (1884)—merged later (1895) in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*—and the *Old Testament Student* (1883), with its offspring by direct descent, the *Old and New Testament Student* (1888) and the *Biblical World* (1893). *The American Journal of Theology* (1897) attests his general theological sympathies, but does not, on the whole, belong in this paper.

As to the quality of these periodicals, it is quite within limits to say for the popular division that it has fully met its purpose, and has undoubtedly opened the way in many instances to something beyond itself. It is no small triumph that the more technical journal has been sustained at all, as it could not have been without the self-sacrifice of the editor in its earlier history, and the university backing of the more recent years. There has been a distinct improvement in scholarly value. For some time the available material was quite limited; the number of competent workers was small, and their absorption in pressing tasks was great. Articles of uniform excellence could not be looked for. The average was not always high. But, increasingly, the results of serious and careful work have gone into the journal, contributions have been received from scholars of note, and it has taken its place as a useful repository of the products of original research.

Dr. Harper's own contributions to these periodicals have been as numerous as one had any right to expect. Here, more clearly than anywhere else, we can see how his interests as a scholar were widening—keeping pace, one may say, with a growing conception of the needs and capacities of his public. The early editorial notes, not merely in the *Hebrew Student* and the *Old Testament Student*, but in *Hebraica* as well, are quite naïve in their appeal to the most elementary stages of knowledge. These journals were, at the first, the mere organs of a scheme of elementary teaching of Hebrew. It is evident that theological students, and not well-trained ones, were the object of the editor's chief thought. But in *Hebraica*, after 1886, these editorial notes disappear. His call to Yale, in that year, put broader responsibilities upon him, and he began to consider, more habitually, the range of Semitic languages, and their relation to each other, as of consequence apart from professional training. There is an advance from the note on "Hebrew in Colleges" (*Hebraica*, Vol.

II, p. 250), and that on "A Little Knowledge of Hebrew" (*Hebraica*, Vol. III, p. 50), to the article (given first as a brief address in Philadelphia) on "Semitic Study in the University" (*Hebraica*, Vol. V [1883], pp. 83 sq.). It was in 1888 that his *Hebrew Syntax* appeared, and it showed good philological method, but to his journals he made no important contributions in technical philology. His chief articles were in the realm of the literary and historical study of the Bible—mainly the Old Testament. In the popular journals these took the form of "inductive" studies, and here, too, while the pedagogical interest continues to the end, there is great development in the thoroughness with which problems are laid hold of, and the insistence with which they are presented. In the later years there were three such serial treatments of Old Testament subjects in the *Biblical World*: "Constructive Studies in the Priestly Element in the Old Testament" (January to December, 1901), "Constructive Studies in the Literature of Worship in the Old Testament" (February to August, 1902), and "Constructive Studies in the Prophetic Element in the Old Testament" (January, 1904, to January, 1905). Two of these—the *Studies in the Priestly Element* (3d ed., 1905) and the *Prophetic Element* (1905)—have been published separately. With these, as of the same general stamp, although adapted to students of a less special type, and with more stress on practical religious values, may be named such recent correspondence courses as those on "The Work of the Old Testament Priests" (1900), "The Work of the Old Testament Sages" (1904), and "The Foreshadowings of the Christ" (1904).

His most notable contribution to *Hebraica* was the series of articles on "The Pentateuchal Question," extending from October, 1888, to July, 1890. These showed abundant reading, and familiarity with the main modern positions. They were prepared to represent the school of historical criticism in a discussion in which Professor William Henry Green, of Princeton, took the conservative side. This opponent was an accomplished debater, and had the advantage of the attacking party, and entire commitment to the positions he himself held. Dr. Harper, on the other hand, avowedly refrained from committing himself to the details of the views he set forth, and thereby lost a part of the strength of a champion. Dr. Green's articles were the more numerous, running on until the number for April-July, 1892.

The result was perhaps rather confusing than otherwise to serious students of biblical problems, and while the double series bore witness to Dr. Harper's fairmindedness, and genial recognition of opposing schools of thought, it is doubtful whether his maturer judgment would have favored a repetition of this procedure in like conditions.

Dr. Harper's reputation as a productive, technical scholar must rest, in the main, on his first (and only) volume on the *Minor Prophets*, in the *International Critical Commentary*, edited by Drs. Briggs, Driver, and Plummer. Preliminary studies appeared from time to time—specifically his *Structure of the Text of the Book of Amos* (1904) and the *Structure of the Text of the Book of Hosea* (1905; with earlier publication in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, 1900 and 1904; the translation of Hosea in the *Biblical World*, January, 1905). But he did not fairly present himself to the world as a pure scholar among scholars until the appearance of the *Commentary* itself, a year before his death. This book is so different from anything else he published that it must be considered quite by itself. His other books represented a selection from abundant materials of that which is needed by a class. Here we have a full—almost unrestricted—exhibition of all the matters connected with the subject. The attitude toward modern criticism elsewhere in his writing is often cautious, apologetic, sometimes non-committal, sometimes hypothetical, governed by consideration for an opposite point of view, or by a delicate pedagogical method. Here, the acceptance of the critical mode of approach and of reasoning is unqualified. The interest in the beginner's needs is not controlling. New emphasis appears, *e.g.*, on textual change and on poetic form. All the features required by an elaborate, modern critical commentary are here—breadth of plan, patient handling of detail, the determination of fact by evidence, constant citation of authorities, careful analysis, registration of the opinions of others, introductions, tables of dates, lists of abbreviations, indices. In this book Dr. Harper took his stand as a serious contributor to the work of Old Testament interpretation, and claimed a respectful hearing from the guild of fellow-workers. Only those who are painfully aware how small the guild of productive workers in this field actually is, and how exacting the terms of admission by their own nature have to be can quite understand the sorrow with

which their welcome to this comrade, hardly spoken, was turned to a farewell. It would be impossible, in the present article, to offer a minute review of the volume. A few remarks of a somewhat general nature must suffice.

Every student must be struck with the aim at completeness. The seventy pages of the Introduction which are devoted to "Pre-prophetism" give a sketch of Israelitish literature and thought till Amos, with especial discussion of the prophetic phenomena in the early generations. The author's critical freedom—used always with sobriety—finds the clearest expression here. Other divisions of the Introduction follow usual lines in the main. Completeness is sought, also, in the presentation of divergent opinions at every important point, and even at points of minor importance. The author was notable, beyond some who are cited as Old Testament authorities, in recognizing how indispensable it is to know the literature of one's subject, and what respect is due those who have made real contributions to it. He studied the books of other men assiduously, receptively, and profitably, aided in this by his power of application, of quick apprehension, of easy assimilation. Hence his opinions are not the *obiter dicta* of a bright mind, but have a scholarly backing and coherence. No doubt we see, in his copious citation of opinions, the diligent and accurate hand of Dr. J. M. P. Smith, to whom the Preface makes special acknowledgment, as well as his own. No doubt, also, all opinions, even the eccentric and the casual, should be before the author of such a book. Yet the question arises whether it is really necessary to print them all for general use. Those that are baseless contribute nothing to real exegesis, and those that have had no influence hardly belong to the history of exegetical thought, and are not worth their space. More serious is the frequent lack of definite position with reference to many of the views cited; an extreme case is Amos 5:26, on which he cites thirteen suggestions (pp. 140 *sq.*) differing from his own interpretation without making it clear by argument that his own is superior to the rest. One sometimes misses the lucid precision so characteristic of his Hebrew textbooks, a lack partly inherent, no doubt, in the situation of a commentator, threading his way through a labyrinth of possibilities, and determining many points only by a nice balance of probabilities, but sometimes suggesting that even this work of scholarship was done under heavy pressure.

In textual criticism there is little to note. The author generally follows good critics, but does not make much contribution of his own to the difficult questions. The introductory remarks on the versions are meager. On the other hand, the treatment of poetic measurements, in which the author's interest has long been known, is an important feature of the book. All in all, it is worthy of a place in every scholar's library, as the amplest and best treatment of these two great prophets which has yet been given to the world.

Enough has been said to show that he was not an intruder in the realm of the higher scholarship, but one whose place in it was of right. And yet, unless his circumstances had radically changed, we could not have looked here for the main emphasis of his life. If he had lived a few years longer, we should have had the other volumes that were promised, and they, also, would have been eagerly welcomed and used. But the main emphasis of his life could not have been shifted to technical scholarship. He would always have had too many other things to do to become a critic or an exegete, pure and simple. And it may fairly be said that he had the many things to do because it was, on the whole, more profitable for the world that his great powers should be used in doing them than in the more secluded work of the scholar.

What we have to ask at the end is whether, on the whole, he made to Old Testament and Semitic studies the best contribution which, among the many, he was qualified to make. We may without hesitation answer this question in the affirmative. He aroused in thousands an eagerness for these studies. He introduced men and women to the questions with which such studies now bristle, and showed the lines of solution. By temperament he was fitted to gauge the receptiveness of average people for new ideas, and he did not repel those he dealt with by thrusting them forward too fast. He was content to be elementary for the sake of minds in the elementary stage, and had no contempt for them, or sense of condescension. He led them on to higher ranges as fast as they could go. He devised ingenious machinery for the promotion of learning. He persisted in his linguistic and educational work year after year. Thus he became one of the chief factors in that quiet revolution which, in the thirty years just ending, has brought the Old Testament so distinctly to the front, quickened interest in its languages, and equipped so many people to meet

its problems intelligently, to the great advantage of the intellectual and the religious life. His sympathy with high scholarship will long be remembered, his scientific journals will bear witness to his determination to promote sound knowledge of the things he cared for, his *Commentary* will stand as an authority until the larger biblical science of a new generation shall displace it and its contemporary books; but his greater influence will lie in the wider appeal—in the textbooks so carefully adapted to the ends of practical instruction, in the stimulus and teaching skill, living on and on, and to some degree reproducing themselves—in the interpretation of the conclusions of the few original scholars for the many open-minded students, in the long result of all those tireless activities which were sustained by his belief in the general capacity of men for knowledge, and which, while he lived, found their constant reward in the glad response of those he addressed. His greater influence remains as the influence of the teacher, and his school numbers more pupils than he ever saw, and his lessons are the particular things he taught and, besides these, the personal qualities of the man who taught them. The lasting effects of his work for mankind are in knowledge, but not only in knowledge; they are also in character.

THE HEBREW STEM NAHAL, TO REST.¹

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§ 1.—In my paper The Poetic Form of Psalm 23, published in vol. 21 of this JOURNAL (April, 1905) p. 135, I stated that ירביצני *He causes me to lie down* in ψ 23, 2 was a prosaic gloss to יָהֲלֵנִי *He rests me*, which, as Friedrich Delitzsch showed twenty-five years ago,² corresponded to the Assyrian ušnâ'il for ušnahhil, the causative of the intensive stem of נָהַל, a synonym of rabâçu *to lie down* and nâxu *to rest*.

§ 2.—In the new (fourteenth) edition of Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1905) the stem נָהַל is supposed to mean:—(1) *to lead*;—(2) *to provide with*;—(3) in the Hithpael: *to move slowly*.—This is essentially the same explanation as the one given by Stade in his Hebrew dictionary, published in 1893, while Francis Brown in part 8 (issued in 1901) of his great lexicon of the OT³ endeavors to combine the two interpretations *to lead* and *to cause to rest*, just as he gives for the derivative נִהְלָל both the meaning *pasture* and *watering-place*. Similarly Professor R. D. Wilson, in an article published twenty years ago,⁴ assumed two different stems. But Friedrich Delitzsch's view that נָהַל means throughout *to rest* is correct, and the objections raised by Prætorius, D. H. Müller, and Nöldeke in their reviews of Delitzsch's *Hebrew Language* and his *Prolegomena*⁵ are not valid.

§ 3.—No importance can be attached to the combination of ותנהלני with ותנהני in ψ 31, 4:

בִּי־סֵלֶךְ וּבִמְצֻדָּתִי אָתָּה וּלְמַעַן שִׁמְךָ תִּנְהַנֵּי

For Thou art my Rock and my Fortress;
therefore for Thy name's sake⁷ lead me.

The addition of ותנהלני in מ (Θ διαθρέψεις, Ξ enutries, ט ון; but ש עָלִיב; cf. ש Is. 51, 18; ש^u Ex. 15, 13, and below, § 5) overloads the second hemistich and is rightly canceled by Bæthgen; it is a scribal expansion derived from ψ 23, 2. 3 and the last section of the post-Exilic psalm in Ex. 15, 13.⁸ ש has but one verb (עָלִיב) for מ ותנהלני.

§ 4.—In n. 107 to my paper on ψ 23 I pointed out that the line

שבטך ומשענתך קמה יחזקוני

Thy staff and Thy (shepherd's) crook, they give me courage meant: The staff⁹ of the Shepherd of Israel will ward off dangers, His crook will show the way; משענתך in ψ 23, 4 corresponds to נהית בחסדך in Ex. 15, 13, while שבטך corresponds to נהלח בעזך (Θ παρακάλεσας, \mathfrak{I} portasti;— \mathfrak{S} 22, for both נהית and נהלח). Instead of \mathfrak{A} אל נה קדשך, in the following hemistich, we must read 'על נ' ק'¹⁰. This is equivalent to בהר נהלחך in v. 17, i. e. Mount Zion.¹¹ The poet says על-נה קדשך , not בנה קדשך , owing to the preceding בעזך . This line should be translated: By strength Thou didst *seat*¹² them on Thy holy home-
stead;—Thou didst *seat*¹² them = Thou didst *settle* them, i. e. cause them to take up a permanent abode.

§ 5.—To *settle* means also to change from a disturbed or troubled state to one of tranquillity, repose, or security. We find נהל in this sense in the gloss Is. 51, 18: אין מנהל לה *there is no one to settle her* (in her troubled state) i. e. no one who settles her disturbed mind, quiets (stills, calms, eases, soothes) her. The semasiological development is the same as in our verb *to allay* which means primarily *to cause to lie*. Θ renders: οὐκ ἦν ὁ παρακαλῶν σε, \mathfrak{C} לית דמינחם לה, \mathfrak{S} 22, \mathfrak{A} 22, \mathfrak{I} non est qui sustentet eam, i. e. who sustains, comforts, relieves her, who makes her bear up under her affliction; contrast \mathfrak{I} sustentavit eos, he supported, nourished them, in Gen. 47, 17 (see § 6). The renderings παρακαλέω (Ex. 15, 13; Is. 40, 11) *to comfort* and ἀντιλαμβάνω *to take care of*, German sich Jemandes annehmen (2 Chr. 28, 15)¹³ as well as \mathfrak{L} 22 (ψ 31, 4) are based on Is. 51, 18, while the renderings διατρέφω, *enutrio* (ψ 31, 4) or ἐκτρέφω, *educio* (ψ 23, 2) and \mathfrak{A} 22 (Is. 40, 11) are based on Gen. 47, 17.

§ 6.—The phrase וינהלם בלהם (Θ^f ἐξέθρεψεν, Θ^l ἔθρεψεν, \mathfrak{I} sustentavit, \mathfrak{S} 22) in Gen. 47, 17 does not mean *he provided*¹⁴ *them with bread*, but *he appeased them with bread*, appeased their hunger with bread; German: stillte ihren Hunger mit Brot. They were all clamoring for bread, and he stilled them. Ein Kind stillen means in German: to give suck to a child. A hungry infant is restless; when the child is satisfied, it keeps still. In this sense נהל is a synonym of נוה *to rest*. The German phrase sein Durst war gestillt is in Syriac: ܠܬܬܝܠܬܐ ܕܠܗܝܬܐ (ܬܬܝܠܬ) and we can say in Syriac: $\text{ܕܠܗܝܬܐ ܕܠܗܝܬܐ ܕܠܗܝܬܐ}$

(מְנִיחַ הָרָא לְהוֹן בְּלֶחֶמָא וּבִמְיָא) *he* (appeased, satisfied) *refreshed them with bread and water*.¹⁵

§ 7.—We find נָחַל as a synonym of נָח in 2 Chr. 32, 22. Here וַיִּנְהֲלֵם מִסְבִּיב means *He gave them rest round about* (Θ καὶ κατέπαυσεν αὐτοὺς κυκλόθεν, Ξ *et praestitit eis quietem per circuitum*; ℣, freely, וַאֲשֶׁר יִנְחֶן לְרוּחָן חוּר חוּר; cf. below, § 16) but it would be unmethodical to suppose that וַיִּנְהֲלֵם was a corruption of וַיִּנְחֵם לָהֶם. This gratuitous emendation, proposed by Bertheau in his commentary (1873) and endorsed by D. H. Müller in ZK 1 (1884) 358, has been adopted in Kautzsch's *Beilagen*, in Oettli's, Benzinger's, and Kittel's commentaries, as well as in Siegfried-Stade, Brown-Driver-Briggs, and Gesenius-Buhl, while Oort (*Emendationes*) reads וַיִּנְחֵם instead of וַיִּנְהֲלֵם. But Keil (1870) was certainly right in pointing out that it was most improbable that the common phrase וַיִּנְחֵם לָהֶם should have been corrupted to וַיִּנְהֲלֵם; the same argument was adduced in Delitzsch's *Prolegomena*, p. 19, n. 1. For the meaning of the phrase *He gave them rest round about* see my remarks on עַל-מֵי מִנְחֹת יִנְחֵנִי *By waters of comfort He rests me* (lit. By waters of tranquillity He causes me to lie down) ψ 23, 2 in vol. 21 of this JOURNAL, p. 141, n. 21.

§ 8.—In his inaugural dissertation *Die Pluriliteralbildungen in den semitischen Sprachen* (Halle, 1873) p. 22 Martin Hartmann called attention to the fact that נָחַל was identical with Arab. نَهْل *náhila to drink*, and that Heb. נָחַל had the same meaning as Arab. مَنَهْل *mánhal abreuvoir, watering-place* (syn. مَوْرِد *máurid*). This comparison was suggested nearly 200 years ago (1724) by Albert Schultens in his *Origines Hebraeae*, but Gesenius rightly remarked (1840) in his *Thesaurus* that the meanings *to drink* and *watering-place* were secondary. Delitzsch seems to think that there is no connection between Arab. نَهْل *náhila* and Heb. נָחַל = Assy. na'álu,¹⁶ but Schultens' combination of נָחַל and نَهْل *náhila* is quite correct: Heb. נָחַל is connected with both Assy. na'álu and Arab. نَهْل *náhila*. The primary meaning of مَنَهْل *mánhal* is *resting-place*; caravans halt at places where water is found, so that stopping-places (German *Haltestellen*) and watering-places (German *Wasserstellen*) are practically identical. But the primitive meaning of נָחַל is *to rest*. The two German phrases *den Durst löschen* (to quench or to slake the thirst) and *den Durst stillen* (lit. to still,

i. e. to appease, to assuage the thirst) have practically the same meaning, but etymologically they are quite different. To go out between the acts to see a friend may mean in this country to take a(n alcoholic) drink, but this is not an etymological definition. Arab. منهل *mánhal* means primarily a *place of rest* on a journey, a *stage* or *station*; and then *watering-place*, *abreuvoir*, where the animals may be watered. Arab. أنهل *ánhala* *to water* (the camels) means originally *to suffer* (them) *to rest*, *to breathe* (them). Heb. רָוַה, impf. יִרְוֶה *to feel relieved* means originally *to breathe* (Germ. *verschnuafen*, *aufathmen*). The words רֵיחַ *breath*, *spirit* and רִיחַ (or rather רִיחַ) *relief* are differentiations of the same root.¹⁷ In modern Arabic the verb نَهَلَ *náhila* means *to be tired*, *exhausted*; but the primitive meaning is *to be restive*, i. e. disposed to rest; in need of rest. We use *restive* in the sense of *recalcitrant*, but this meaning is secondary, just as the meaning *to drink* in the case of נָהַל.¹⁸ In German the verb *ausspannen* is often used in the sense *to take a rest* (*Ich muss einmal ein paar Tage ausspannen*); but the primitive meaning is *to unharness*¹⁹ or *unhitch* (the horses); then *to stop*, *to halt*. In the same way κατάλυμα, *lodging-place*, *inn*,²⁰ means originally *unhitching-place*. Our *bait* may mean a halt in the course of a journey, but the original meaning of *bait* is *to cause to bite*, *to feed* the horses, &c. So Arab. أنهل *ánhala* means originally *to halt*, then *to water* (the animals) while our *bait* means originally *to feed*, then *to halt*. Arab. محلة *maḥálle* *station* means originally, just as κατάλυμα, a place where the animals are unharnessed, while Arab. منزل *mánzil* denotes a place where the traveler dismounts.²⁴ Also Aram. שָׂרַח *to halt*, *lodge*, *stay*, *dwell* means originally *to untie*, *unhitch*, *unharness*.

§ 9.—The Hithpael אֶתְּהַלֵּךְ 'לְאֵתִי Gen. 33, 14 means lit. *I shall allow myself to halt according to my ease*, i. e. I will proceed leisurely with frequent halts and stops; not hurriedly, but by easy stages. A verb which means *to rest* may easily mean *to proceed leisurely* and even *to lag behind*. Our *to lounge* means not only *to recline at ease*, but also *to move in a leisurely way*, *to walk leisurely*, *to stroll*. וְאֵנִי אֶתְּהַלֵּךְ וְעִמָּהם רֵוִידָא, I et ego sequar paulatim vestigia ejus, just as AV, *I will lead on softly*, are free translations, also Ὡς ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπισχύσω (i. e. I shall gather strength)²² ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ κατὰ σχολήν

and 𐤏 𐤍𐤒𐤕𐤍𐤏 : 𐤍𐤕𐤍 : 𐤕𐤏𐤁 : 𐤕𐤏𐤁𐤕 : 𐤍𐤏-𐤍𐤏𐤕𐤏-𐤏𐤏 𐤁𐤏-𐤕𐤏𐤏𐤏
nēkél naḥāuēr.

§ 10.—For 𐤏𐤕 𐤍𐤒𐤕𐤍𐤏 we must read 𐤍𐤒𐤕𐤍𐤏; see Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 167, l. 37. Heb. 𐤍𐤒𐤕𐤍𐤏 has the same meaning as Arab. مهلا máhlan or مهل على ála máhlin, and نهل náhila and مهل máhala may be secondary differentiations of the same stem; مهل máhala means *to proceed slowly and leisurely* (مهل في عمله اذا عمله بالسكينة والرفق) also *to lag behind, to straggle, to be too slow*; ماهر máhala means *he took his time*; but the primitive meaning *to rest* is preserved in مهال mahāl *pause, recreation*. In Syriac this stem مهل máhala appears as ܡܗܠ (ܡܗܠ) with *b* instead of *m*;²³ ܡܗܠ means *to rest, become quiet*. Cf. also Arab. بهلا báhlan = مهلا máhlan and ابهل ábhala = 𐤁𐤕𐤕𐤏 Est. 3, 8 (استبهل الوالى الرعية اذا اهلهم). The stem همل hámala may be a transposition of مهل máhala; cf. ZDMG 58, 631, n. *. It is not impossible that the Assyrian ma'álu, fem. ma'altu, *couch, bed*²⁴ is derived from this stem 𐤍𐤕𐤕𐤏; the ideogram for ma'álu *bed* is the same as for na'álu *to lie down*. If we assume that 𐤍𐤕𐤕𐤏, 𐤍𐤕𐤕𐤏, 𐤍𐤕𐤕𐤏 are derived from a biconsonantal root 𐤕𐤕𐤕 *to rest*, we could explain Assy. alu (*i. e.* perhaps álu) *city*, Heb. 𐤏𐤕𐤕𐤏 *tent*, and Arab. اهل ahl *inhabitants, people* (cf. 𐤏𐤕 𐤏𐤕 𐤏𐤕 *family, kinsfolk*) as derivatives of the same root; Heb. 𐤏𐤕𐤕𐤏 would then mean primarily *resting-place*, and Assy. álu: *settlement*.

§ 11.—It is not probable that مهل máhala is a denominative verb derived from a noun مهل máhhal for منهل mánhal;²⁶ for the assimilation of the *n* we may compare Arab. mirrabihi, millailin, &c. for من ربه من ليل.²⁷ In Syriac, *n* is, as a rule, not assimilated to a following *h*.²⁸

In the Talmud the place 𐤍𐤕𐤕𐤏 (cf. below, § 17) Jud. 1, 30 is identified with 𐤍𐤕𐤕𐤏.²⁹ We find interchange of initial *n* and *m* in 𐤍𐤕𐤕𐤏 nauraj *threshing-sledge*, which is used in Southern Arabia for مورة mauraj, Heb. מורה; also in 𐤍𐤕𐤕𐤏 nis' *north wind* for 𐤍𐤕𐤕𐤏 mis', 𐤏𐤕𐤕𐤏 : mas', and in Heb. 𐤍𐤕𐤕𐤏 instead of Assy. mašû *to forget*; in the last two cases the *n* instead of *m* is due to partial assimilation.³⁰ Fleischer, in vol. 3, p. 716^b of Levy's dictionary, explained the Talmudic 𐤍𐤕𐤕𐤏 sifter as a

derivative of a denominative verb **מָהַל** *to sift*, derived from **מִהוּלְתָּא** *sieve*, which stands for *manhúltā*, *manxúltā*, Arab. **مَنْخُل** *múnxul sieve*, from a stem **نَخَلَ** *náxala*; but there is no word **מְהוּלָּא** *sifter*; **מִהוּלָּא** means *circumciser*, and the alleged plural **מִהוּלִּיָּא** *sifters*, in the passage cited by Levy, is merely a masculine plural of **מִהוּלְתָּא** *sieve*, just as we find in Syriac: **ܡܚܠܬܐ** as plural of **ܡܚܠܬܐ**.

§ 12.—Nöldeke (ZDMG 40, 728) combined the stem **מָהַל** with "the Talmudic preposition **מִן** = **מִן**"; but there is no such preposition. We find **הוּהוּ** *he is*, **הִיְהוּ** *she is*, **הֵיְהוּ** *they are*; and **מִן־הֵנִי** *to me*, **מִן־הֵנֶךָ** *to thee*, **מִן־הֵנִיָּה** *to him*, **מִן־הֵנֶךְ** *to us*, **מִן־הֵנֶיָּה** *to them*.³¹ It is evident that the **ל** in these forms is the preposition **ל**, and not the third stem-consonant of a stem **מָהַל**. This impossible combination of **מָהַל** and **מִן־הֵנֶיָּה** *to me* &c. figured in the 12th (1895) and 13th (1899) editions of Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch*; but in the 14th (1905) edition it has been rightly abandoned. Delitzsch's explanation of **מָהַל** was mentioned in the 12th edition; but the 13th and the 14th editions contain no reference to it, although the combination of **מָהַל** and Assy. *na'álu* is undoubtedly correct.

§ 13.—In Gesenius' *Thesaurus* the stem **מָהַל** was combined, not with **מִן** *náhila*, but with **מָהַר** and **מָהַל**. This explanation was retained in the third edition (1876) of Fürst's *Handwörterbuch*, edited by Ryssel, and in the ninth edition (1883) of Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch*, edited by Mühlau and Volck. It was omitted in the tenth (1886) edition, but Delitzsch's correct combination of **מָהַל** with Assy. *na'álu* was rejected; so, too, in the eleventh (1890) edition.

§ 14.—The same meaning which we have established for the Hithpael **וַאֲנִי אֶתְנַחֵלָה לְלֹאשִׁי** in Gen. 33, 14, must be assumed for Is. 40, 11: **עֲלֹת יִהְיֶה**, which means *He will breathe the milchewes*, i. e. He will give them breathings, suffer them to rest and recover breath (*cf.* **יִנְשֵׁשׁ** Ex. 23, 12; 31, 17) at proper intervals, He will not overdrive them (**לֹא יִדְבֹקֵם**, Gen. 33, 13).³²

§ 15.—In 2 Chr. 28, 15 **מָהַל** is synonymous with **ἐπιβιάζω** (Luke 10, 34; 19, 35; Acts 23, 24): **וַיִּנְהֲלוּם בַּחֲמִירִים** means *they (seated, i. e.) set them on asses* (**ἔ**, correctly, *imposuerunt eos jumentis*). To set = to cause to rest on a seat. To seat means not only *to cause to sit down*; it means also *to rest* or *lie down*. Spenser (1596) says in his *Fairly Queen*, VI, ix, 4: *The*

folds where sheep at night do seat. We should be justified also in translating **וַיִּנְחֲלֵם בַּחֲמֹרִים**: *they made them comfortable with asses*; but it is not necessary to regard the preposition as the **ב** *instrumenti* (cf. Is. 66, 20; Jer. 17, 25; 22, 4; 1 Chr. 12, 40). Heb. **נָחַל בָּסוֹס** means *imponere, inferre, subicere in equum*. We find in Latin: *sedere in equo, vehi in equo, ire in equis*; in Greek: *ἐν ἵπποις, ἐν θρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ ὄρει, ἐν στίβασι κείμενοι* (Xen. Anab. V, 9, 4). In Old English the preposition *in* was often used instead of *on*; we frequently find in AV *in the mountain* instead of *on the mountain*. In Hebrew we can say **עַל הָר** or **בְּהָר**, **עַל מִשָּׁה**, **בְּמִשָּׁה** (1 S 19, 15); **הָרִיבִּים עַל רֶכֶב** (2 Chr. 35, 24) or **הָרִיבִּים בְּרֶכֶב** (2 K 10, 16; Gen. 41, 43). D. H. Müller's objection that, if **נָחַל** meant *to set*, we should expect **וַיִּנְחֲלוּם עַל הַחֲמֹרִים**, is not valid. Delitzsch's former translation (*Heb. Lang.* p. 6) *and they put them on asses* is much better than the rendering given in his *Prolegomena*, p. 20: *sie versorgten sie mit Eseln*.³³ The **ל** in the following **לְכָל כּוֹשֵׁל** is not the preposition, but the emphatic **ל**³⁴ which is occasionally written *plene*, e. g. Ruth 2, 13; 1 S 14, 30; 20, 9; Ex. 8, 22; cf. JBL 24, 30 and **لَا اُقْسِمُ** *lâ uqsimu*, Coran 75, 1 &c. (Wright-de Goeje 2, 305, C).

§ 16.—In Is. 49, 10, **וְעַל מַבּוּעֵי מַיִם יִנְחֲלֵם**, the stem **נָחַל** has the same meaning as in **פֹּ** 23, 2, viz. *He will cause them to rest by springs of water*, **וְעַל מַבּוּעֵי מַיִם יִשְׁרִינֶן**; cf. **וְאִשְׁרִינֶן** **פֹּ** 23, 2; **יִרְבִּיצֵנִי** **פֹּ** 23, 2; **וַיִּנְחֲלֵם** in § 7 and **יִשְׁרִינִי** = **יִרְבִּיצֵנִי** in § 7 and **וַיִּנְחֲלֵם** in § 7 and **וַיִּשְׁרִינֵם** in § 7, end.

§ 17.—In Is. 7, 19 **וּבְכָל הַנְּחָלִים** means *and in all halting-places, especially watering-places, but not pastures*. **καὶ εἰς πᾶσαν ῥαγάδα**, **et in universis foraminibus**, probably read **נְחָלִים** (**נְחָלִים** or **נְחָלִים**) *holes*, with **ה**; cf. **נָחַל** *pit, shaft* Job 28, 4 and **מְחַלּוֹת** Is. 2, 19, Arab. **مَخْلُول** *maxlûl perforated, full of holes*; but **נְחָלִים**, with **ה**, is warranted by **וּבְכָל בְּחִי** **תּוֹשְׁבֵהָתָא**.³⁵

§ 18.—In all the passages of OT, where the stem **נָחַל** occurs, the Piel means *to seat, to settle*, i. e. (1) *to cause to sit or rest or lie down*;—(2) *to ease, quiet, still, calm*;—(3) *to appease, satisfy*;—(4) *to give rest or peace*;—while the reflexive stem means *to give oneself rest, to rest oneself, or to proceed leisurely*. It is not necessary to assume two different stems; **נָחַל** corresponds both to Arabic **نَهَلَ** *nâhila* and **مَهَلَ** *mâhala*,³⁶ but these two

stems as well as the Assy. stem na'álu are ultimately identical. There is no verb נהל to lead in Hebrew, only a stem נהל to rest.

In German the Piel נהל may be translated *ausruhen lassen* in Is. 49, 10; 40, 11; ψ 23, 2; 2 Chr. 28, 15;—*Ruhe finden lassen*: Ex. 15, 13; ψ 31, 4; 2 Chr. 32, 22;—*beruhigen*: Is. 51, 18;—*befriedigen, den Hunger stillen*: Gen. 47, 17;—the Hithpael in Gen. 33, 14: *sich ausruhn*;—and the derivative נהלל: *Ruheplatz, Rastort*.

INDEX OF PASSAGES.

(1) Gen. 33, 14: § 9.	(6) Is. 51, 18: § 5.
(2) 47, 17: § 6.	(7) Ps. 23, 2: § 7, end.
(3) Ex. 15, 13: § 4.	(8) 31, 4: § 3.
(4) Is. 40, 11: § 14.	(9) 2 Chr. 28, 15: § 15.
(5) 49, 10: § 16.	(10) 32, 22: § 7.
(11) Is. 7, 19: § 17.	

Notes.

(1) Presented at the meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, New York, Dec. 28, 1905.

(2) In Lotz's *Tiglathpileser* (Leipzig, 1880) p. 123; *The Hebrew Language* (London, 1883) p. 6; cf. his *Prolegomena* (Leipzig, 1886) pp. 17–20.

(3) For the abbreviations see vol. 21 of this JOURNAL, p. 138, n. 3; cf. ZDMG 58, 618, n. *.

(4) In the *Presbyterian Review* (New York) vol. 6 (April, 1885) pp. 319–328. The first three pages of this article, entitled *Hebrew Lexicography and Assyriology*, are devoted to a discussion of the eleven passages in which the stem נהל occurs in OT. Professor Wilson thought that 2 Chr. 32, 22; Gen. 47, 17; ψ 23, 2 favored the meaning *rest*; while in Ex. 15, 13; Is. 49, 10; ψ 31, 4; Gen. 33, 4 the parallelism and the Versions favored the rendering *to lead*; and in 2 Chr. 28, 15; Is. 40, 11; 51, 18 the verb might mean either *to rest* or *to lead*; in the same way נהלל might be either synonymous with מדרב or with מרבץ.

(5) In E. Kuhn's *Literatur-Blatt für orientalische Philologie*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1884) p. 195; *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1884) p. 358; ZDMG 40 (1886) 728.

(6) Recessive accent; cf. my remarks on 1 S 2, 1 in ZDMG 58, 622.

(7) For the meaning of this phrase see n. 19 to my paper on ψ 23 in this JOURNAL, vol. 21, p. 141.

(8) See my paper *Moses' Song of Triumph* in vol. 20 of this JOURNAL, p. 156.

(9) That is, a stick used as a weapon; a club or cudgel. The verb שבת means in Assyrian: *to strike* = 𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎶: zabāṭa, with partial assimilation of the initial s to the following b: see Crit. Notes on Ezra-Neh. (SBOT) p. 37, l. 2; p. 63, l. 29; Kings, p. 251, l. 21. Cf. also זבן time for סבן = Assy. simānu (JHUC, No. 163, p. 89^a).

(10) See Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 151, l. 31. Also in the passage Ezek. 40, 2, cited by D. H. Müller, ZK 1, 358, we must read: וַיִּנְהִי עַל הַר גְּבוּהַּ מֵאֵד, not אֵל; see Toy (SBOT) and Krætzschmar *ad loc.*

(11) See vol. 20 of this JOURNAL, p. 163.

(12) Brown-Driver-Briggs: Thou didst lead (or bring) them.

(13) ℣ uses ἀντελάβοντο both for וַיִּהְיוּקוּ and וַיִּנְהִלוּ.

(14) Dillmann, Kautzsch, Holzinger, Gunkel: *versorgte*; so, too, Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 19, below; cf. Nöldeke, ZDMG 40, 728. AV, he *fed them with bread*, in the margin: Heb. *led them*.

(15) We also find נָפַח אַף (נָפַח אַף) *his anger was appeased*; cf. וַיִּנְהַמְתִּי חֲמַתִּי I will appease my fury, Ezek. 5, 13; 16, 42; 21, 22; see also 24, 13.

(16) Prætorius, LOP 1, 195, below, did not defend the identity of Heb. נָהַל and Arab. نَهَلَ nāhila; he deemed it not impossible that נָהַל represented a combination of نَهَى nāhhā *to come (to), arrive*, and the preposition ל or אֵל.

(17) I believe we should point instead of נָהַל Gen. 32, 17 and Est. 4, 14: נָהַל. On the other hand, I doubt whether we have a form נָהַל in Ex. 8, 11; Lam. 3, 56. In Lam. 3, 56 we must transpose the two hemistichs (cf. vol. 21 of this JOURNAL, p. 146, n. 60) thus reading:

אֶל־תִּעַלְמָם אֲנִיךְ לַיְהוֹמָתִי קוֹלִי שְׁמַעַת

נָהַל is a gloss to לַיְהוֹמָתִי which represents a form نَوْحَة rauḥe (from a noun נִוְחָה we should expect לַיְהוֹמָתִי; cf. צִוְחָתִי); but instead of נָהַל we must read, following ℣ *eis tēn βοήθειάν μου* (v. 57): לַיְהוֹמָתִי; contrast Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 170, n. *. In Ex. 8, 11 we should probably read הַיְהוֹמָתִי = Arab. إِرْهَة irāḥe, a form like הַנְּהִיָּה *release* (of prisoners; cf. Matt. 27, 15) Est. 2, 18; הַצִּלָּה *deliverance* Est. 4, 14. Arab. رَوَاح rauāḥ *evening* means originally *time of rest, cessation of work* (زوال الشغل) German *Feierabend*, in spite of the well-known לַיְהוֹמָתִי Gen. 3, 8. AV renders here *in the cool of the day*, adding in the margin: Heb. *wind* (℣ *ad auram post meridiem*, رِيح but it is possible that the original form was לַיְהוֹמָתִי; cf. לַמִּנְהָ יוֹמָהּ (not לַמִּנְהָ; see Merx, *Chrestomathia Tar-gumica*, 1888, pp. 63. 237). ℣ has simply τὸ δειλινόν, سَمَاءٌ مَغْمُغَةٌ, עַד שִׁפְפוֹת : חֲמָה : fēnā sark *towards evening*. The phrase עַד שִׁפְפוֹת Cant. 2, 17 (4, 6) refers to the breeze of the morning; cf. my remarks JBL 21, 63, n. 12; AJSL 18, 200, viii. The pointing לַיְהוֹמָתִי may represent a subsequent adaptation just as the pointing צִלְמִיּוֹת instead of צִלְמִיּוֹת (see vol. 21 of this JOURNAL, p. 142) or the German *Friedhof* which is now supposed to mean a place where the departed rest in peace, while the original meaning is a fenced yard (*eingefriedigter Hof*).

(18) Arab. *اراح* arāḥa *to drive* (domestic) animals *into a fold* (or inclosure) means originally *to afford rest*. Also *اناخ* anāxa *to cause* (a camel) *to kneel* means originally *to cause to rest* = Heb. *הניח* and Assy. *unīx*; *بالمكان اناخ* anāxa bil-makāni means *to abide in a place*; cf. Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 174, l. 27. Socin's combination of *נחה* with *راح* is impossible; Assy. *nāxu* shows that the *ח* of Heb. *נחה* is a *ח*. Cf. also *نوخة* nauḫe *halt*.

(19) Cf. our phrase *to die in harness*, German *in den Sielen sterben*.

(20) For the identity of *inn* and the preposition *in* as well as for the connection of *בית* with *ב* and *בוא*, *בב*, see Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 210, l. 12.

(21) Contrast our phrase *to set down one's staff* = *to stop and rest at an inn*, &c.

(22) *ἔ* renders *נחל* by *καταπαύω* in 2 Chr. 32, 22;—*ἐνισχύω* Gen. 33, 14;—*παρακαλέω* Ex. 15, 13; Is. 40, 11; 51, 18;—*ἀντιλαμβάνομαι* 2 Chr. 28, 15;—*ἐκτρέφω* Gen. 47, 17; *ψ* 23, 2;—*διατρέφω* *ψ* 31, 4;—*ἄγω* Is. 49, 10;—*נחל* Is. 7, 19 is rendered *ράγας*. The rendering *καταπαύω* (§ 7) is correct; *ἐνισχύω* (§ 9) is a free translation; the inaccurate renderings *παρακαλέω* and *ἀντιλαμβάνομαι* as well as *ἐκτρέφω* and *διατρέφω* are explained at the end of § 5. The rendering *ἄγω* in Is. 49, 10 is due to a confusion: *ἄξει* should be the equivalent of *יְהִיג*, and *παρακαλέσει* should be the rendering of *יְהַל* as in 40, 11; 51, 18; Ex. 15, 13. The rendering *ράγας* Is. 7, 19 presupposes a different reading, *נחלל*, with *ח*, instead of *נחלל*.

ἔ renders in 2 Chr. 32, 22: *praestare quietem*;—2 Chr. 28, 15: *imponere*;—Gen. 47, 17; Is. 51, 18: *sustentare*;—Ex. 15, 13; Is. 40, 11: *portare*;—Is. 49, 10: *potare*;—*ψ* 23, 2: *educare*;—*ψ* 31, 4: *enutrire*;—Gen. 33, 14: *sequi vestigia*. *ἔ potabit* Is. 49, 10 may be a subsequent modification of *portabit*; cf. *stella maris* for *stilla maris* = *נִיָּים* (see vol. 20 of this JOURNAL, p. 152, n. *) also *ἔ obligationes* *ψ* 124, 5 for *obligationes* = *עֲקֻלָּוֹת*, &c. See also the remarks on *לְרִיחַ הַיּוֹם*, *עֲלֵינֵינוּ* &c. above, at the end of n. 17.

In *§* we find *ἔ* (= *ἔ παρακαλέω*) Is. 51, 18; *ψ* 31, 4 (*§^H* Ex. 15, 13);—*ἔ* (= *ἔ ἐκτρέφω*) Gen. 47, 17; Is. 40, 11 (cf. *ἔ* *זָן* Gen. 47, 17; *ψ* 31, 4);—*ἔ* Gen. 33, 14;—*ἔ* Ex. 15, 13; *ψ* 23, 2 (cf. *ἔ* *דָּבַר* Gen. 33, 14; Is. 40, 11; *ψ* 23, 2; 2 Chr. 28, 15);—*ἔ* (= *ἔ portare* Ex. 15, 13; Is. 40, 11) Is. 49, 10. The two passages 2 Chr. 28, 15; 32, 22 are omitted in *§*.

(23) See my remarks in ZA 2 (1887) 268, n. 2.

(24) See *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. 1, p. 171. Delitzsch, HW 406^b reads *maialu*, adding that the *m* can hardly be explained as a preformative. The Sutean (*שׁוּיָע* Ez. 23, 23) word *namallu bed* may be derived from the same stem *נחל* = *נחל* (*namallu* for *namālu*, *namahlu*, *namhalu*).

(25) The biconsonantal root כל to hold (cf. כלכל to support, sustain, lit. hold up) appears e. g. in the triconsonantal stems כלא to detain, lit. to hold; כלא prison, lit. hold (Acts 4, 3) where a prisoner is held; *—כלה bride (Assyr. kallâtu) denotes a girl who is held, i. e. pledged, engaged, affianced; *—כלוב coop, a cage in which a bird may be kept; כלב dog; cf. the German name for a dog, Packan, i. e. hold fast; the final ב may have been originally the preposition ב;—כלי vessel (which holds something); כליה kidney may mean capsulated, enclosed in a capsule, referring to the capsule of the kidneys as well as to the fat in which the kidneys are imbedded (cf. Lev. 3, 4. 10. 15);—כלה (i. e. כלל) to be completed, lit. to hold on, to stop, come to an end;—כליל whole, lit. complete; כל (for kull) all, lit. whole, complete;—הכלים to put to shame, lit. to make him catch it (cf. German betroffen, lit. caught in the act, surprised, confounded);—אכל to eat, lit. to take (Acts 27, 33 προσλαμβάνω) or partake (μεταλαμβάνω);—יכל to be able (Aram. כהיל, Eth. kehla) lit. to be capable, have the capacity (cf. כלי and our phrases it is not in him, he has in him);†—נכל to be crafty, artful, lit. to take in, catch, entrap, outwit by superior craft, skill, art; cf. our term catch-match;—שכל to understand, lit. to catch on, to take it in, grasp or seize mentally, apprehend;—Assyr. תכל to trust, lit. to hold on, to take to;—Arab. شكل šakila to be complicated, ambiguous may mean originally to be catchy, captious (Germ. verhänglich) while شكل to vocalize a text means originally to disentangle, i. e. to remove the ambiguity; cf. the privative נחם to comfort, which means originally to cause to stop sighing; see my paper cited below, in n. 32. The t in כנל kátala to bind, imprison (حبس) may be secondary, so that כנל may be combined with כלא (כנל to heap up = כנל).—Arab. كلا kála'a to watch, to guard (حرس) means originally to try to catch (cf. our archaic phrase to lie on the catch); كالا to be completed (انتهى)‡ means originally, like כלה, to hold on, to stop; כל to be tired means to be used up, played out. Consequently a biconsonantal root כל may appear e. g. as כלכל, כלל, כול, כלה, כלי, כלא;—נכל, שכל, תכל;—אכל, יכל, כהל, כהל, כאל, כיל, כלם, כחל &c. &c. An infixed ת may appear as ת or ט; cf. Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 239, l. 3. For infixed ת see vol. 1 of this JOURNAL, p. 178, n. 4; Beiträge zur Assyriologie, vol. 1, p. 166. Cf. also Gesenius-Kautzsch²⁷, § 30, g.

* Heb. כלאים means originally a brace, i. e. couple, pair, lit. things braced, i. e. firmly held together.

** Our word bride is connected with bridle and means originally restrained, i. e. pledged, betrothed; cf. the French phrase brider quelqu'un par un contrat. A connection of the Germanic brādi- with the Latin epithet of Aphrodite, Frutis, is improbable. French bru, daughter-in-law, is a Germanic loanword.

† Cf. Ethiopic en béia I cannot, lit. it is not in me (Dillm. Gr.², p. 337).

‡ Cf. Assyr. kalû, constr. kal totalit., all. For Heb. כל all Assyrian uses either the feminine form kullat or kal, constr. of kalû, from a stem tertiae infirmæ.

(26) Cf. my remarks in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. 1, p. 172^b and *Addenda* on p. 325; also my paper on Denominative Verbs in JHUC, No. 114, p. 109.

(27) See Wright-de Goeje, vol. 1, p. 15, below.

(28) See Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*² (1898) § 28; Brockelmann, *Syr. Gr.*² (1905) § 57.

(29) Buhl is inclined to identify this name with معلول Ma'lûl, W of Nazareth; see, however, Moore's commentary on Judges (1895) p. 50, below.

(30) Cf. Assy. xânšû *fifth* for xâmšû, šanšû *sun* for šamšû, &c. (see *Beitr. z. Assyrl.* vol. 1, p. 3, and Delitzsch, § 49) and above, n. 9. For Assy. māšu = Heb. מאש see Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 263, l. 49.

(31) Levas, *Grammar of the Aramaic Idiom contained in the Babylonian Talmud* (Cincinnati, 1900) § 124 (see this JOURNAL, vol. 13, p. 58) thinks that the prefixed נִי in נִיהָ &c. is a contraction of נִהָ = נִהָרִי, לִהָרִי, while נִיהָלָה is supposed (§ 177) to have originated from לִיהָלָה, a compound of the preposition לִ and the affixed "demonstrative of determinate distance, הָהָלָה." Cf. also *ibid.* § 96. For the dissimilation of the initial *l* in לִיהָלָה we might compare the dissimilation of the final *n* in Syr. נַטְטִיל nittil for nittin, nintin, originally lintin (see *Beitr. z. Assyrl.* vol. 1, p. 17, l. 19) also Aram. תַּנְיָ two for תַּנְיָ, originally thināmi; cf. Brockelmann, *Syr. Gr.*² § 76 and Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 270, l. 34 and n. *. It seems to me, however, that Levas' explanation is untenable.

(32) Cf. my translation of Is. 40 in Drugulin's *Marksteine* (Leipzig, 1902).

(33) Nöldeke seems to be inclined to endorse this translation; 2 Chr. 32, 22 (ZDMG 40, 728; cf. above, § 7) is apparently a mistake for 2 Chr. 28, 15.

(34) Cf. Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 288, l. 36 and vol. 20 of this JOURNAL, p. 172, n. 60.

(35) In Johannis Buxtorfii *Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum* (Basileæ, 1710) p. 170, below, וּבְכָל הַנְּהָלִים is rendered *et in omnibus laudatis arboribus* (Ibn Ezra: *in domibus vel locis laudatis*) as though נְהָלִל were the part. Niph. of הָלַל.

(36) For בְּהוֹל dreggish (Is. 1, 22) from בְּהַל to settle, to subside, see note 11 to my paper on the etymology of mohél *circumciser* in the July (1906) number of this JOURNAL.

GLOSSEN ZU O. A. TOFFTEEN'S "GEOGRAPHICAL
LIST TO R. F. HARPER'S ASSYRIAN AND
BABYLONIAN LETTERS, VOLS. I-VIII."

VON MAXIMILIAN STRECK,
Strassburg im Elsass.

Im I. Hefte des vorigen Jahrganges (Vol. XXI) dieser Zeitschrift wurden gleichzeitig zwei Speziallexika zu Harper's monumentalem und ausserordentlich zuverlässigem Brief-Corpus publizirt; Godbey lieferte eine Liste der vorkommenden Berufs- und Beamten-Namen, Toffteen eine solche der geographischen.¹ Da ich gleichfalls einige Monate vor dem Erscheinen des betreffenden Heftes dieser Zeitschrift die Harper'schen Briefe nach verschiedenen Gesichtspunkten durchgearbeitet und auch die von Godbey und Toffteen ausgezogenen Wortkategorien excerptirt hatte, so kam mir die Arbeit beider sehr erwünscht, insofern als sie mir ein Nachprüfen meiner Excerpte ermöglichte. Godbey's Liste habe ich bisher nicht eingehender mit dem von mir zusammen getragenen Material verglichen; im Allgemeinen hat sie auf mich aber einen zuverlässigen Eindruck gemacht. Dagegen konnte ich bei T. eine ziemlich erhebliche Anzahl von Missverständnissen und Ungenauigkeiten konstatiren. Namentlich lässt T. fast durchgängig in seiner Transskription völlig im Unklaren darüber, ob ein Name auf dem Original vollständig lesbar ist oder ob etwas bezw. wie viel von dem Wortkörper erst durch mehr oder weniger wahrscheinliche Ergänzungen gewonnen wurde.

Wenn ich nun hier das gesammte Ergebnis meiner ziemlich eingehenden, aber durchaus nicht erschöpfenden Nachprüfung² der T.'schen Liste allen Benützern derselben unterbreite, so geschieht dies lediglich im Interesse der Sache. Da die kostspielige H.'sche Ausgabe sich nur im Privatbesitze eines geringen Bruchtheiles von Assyriologen befinden dürfte, dieselbe überdies

¹ Godbey's Liste auf pp. 65-82; jene Toffteen's pp. 83-99. Ich kürze im Folgenden den Namen Toffteen immer durch T. ab; H. = Harper.

² Die nur durch wenige Belegstellen vertretenen Namen habe ich zum grössten Theile nachgeprüft, dagegen nicht jene Artikel, die wie Elamtu, Arrapha, Arbailu, Uruk, Aššur, Babilu, Barsip, Kalhu, Kūsu, Ninā (Ninua), Sippar, Puḫudu und māṭ tāmtim mit einer grossen Zahl von Zitaten versehen sind. Bei diesen bekannten Namen sind Lesefehler ohnedies weniger zu erwarten.

nur in wenigen staatlichen Bibliotheken vorhanden ist, so werden wohl manche Fachmänner über in den Briefen vorkommende geographische Namen T.'s Register zu Rate ziehen. Ausserdem glaube ich den alten Historikern und Geographen, die nur aus zweiter Hand schöpfen können, durch meine "Glossen" einen Dienst zu erweisen.

T. hat die einzelnen Namen nach dem westsemitischen Alphabet angeordnet; dabei sind ihm allerdings auch verschiedene Versehen untergelaufen, die bewirken können, dass man einen an falscher Stelle gebuchten Namen vermisst.³ In meinen Bemerkungen zu den einzelnen Namen habe ich, aus Utilitätsgründen, durchwegs die von T. beobachtete Reihenfolge adoptirt.

^{al} A.BA.AI: (211) K 662, Rv. 2 liest T. amél Ab-ai; der Text bietet jedoch: m. arab AB-ai = m Tebêtai, einen in der Sargonidenepoche beliebten Personennamen. Unter dem gleichen Namen bringt T. ferner ein mât Ab-b[u-]; (642) K 12046, Obv. 5; der Text bietet: ^{al} AT.ŠE[.], also: ^{al} At-?!

^{al} A.BA.ALI: (424) Sm. 760, Obv. 13. Der Text bietet: ma-a alu a-na ali a-di ^{al} Tu-ru-uš-pa-a (Obv. 14) ul-lu-a-te sa-ad-ra d. h. "(von) Stadt zu Stadt, bis nach Turušpâ hin, sind Garnisonen(?)⁴ aufgestellt." Recht fraglich erscheint es mir auch, ob in (413) Bu 91, 5-9, 12 Rv. 11 mit T. ^{al} mât Ab-ili gelesen werden darf; das von T. als Determinativ mât aufgefasste Zeichen KUR dürfte vielmehr der erste Bestandteil des Ortsnamens sein; die Lesung des Zeichens AN (ili) ist nach H. fraglich.

^{al} A.DI.I[N.NU].: (500) K 1303, Obv. 4. Die Ergänzung des Namens zu A-di-i[n-nu] nicht sicher, aber immerhin ziemlich wahrscheinlich. Eine im Bezirke von Nordsyrien liegende Ortschaft dieses Namens erwähnt Salmanassar II.; vgl. dessen Monolith II, 48: ^{al} A-di-en-nu; dieselbe kennt auch Tiglathpileser III. als ^{al} A-ti-in-ni: Annal. 130.⁵

^{al} AK.TA.LA: (685) 81, 2-4, 96, Rv. 5. Vor ak-ta-la bietet H. noch einen schrägen Keil; sollte letzterer ungenau für AŠ stehen, mithin

³ So steht z. B. mât NA.RI.[.] zwischen ^{al} BA.HAR.RI und mât BAR.HAL.ZA, Arbailu hinter Arrapha, Madaktu zwischen Ebir-nâri und Adia, amél MARKi hinter Amurri, u. s. w. Zu tadeln ist auch die gelegentliche Inkonsistenz in der Umschrift; so wird z. B. in der einen Stelle (763) 81, 2-4, 126 das zweite Zeichen KU, im Gegensatz zu den übrigen Stellen, durch gu umschrieben; auch sonst gibt T. besagtes Zeichen bald durch ku, bald durch gu wieder. Ungleich bedenklicher erscheint aber noch die öfters zu konstatierende Thatsache, dass eine und dieselbe Belegstelle zweimal, das eine Mal richtig, das andere Mal unrichtig gelesen, auftaucht.

⁴ Dem ul-lu-a-te wird man mit van Gelderen, *Beitr. z. Assyriol.*, IV, 540 etwa eine Bedeutung wie "Garnison" vindiziren dürfen. Man vgl. das von der gleichen Wurzel (𐤏𐤋𐤁𐤏) abzuleitende šûlûtu = "Besatzung, Garnison"; zu letzterem s. Delitzsch, *HW.*, 66 und *Assyriol. Lesezt.*, 154; ferner Muss-Arnolt, *Diet.*, p. 1050.

⁵ Sachau combinirte in Z.A., XII, 47 mit Atinni (die Salmanassar-Stelle war ihm entgangen) das الاظيم al-Ja'kabi's; heute: Tell-Loṭmîn; siehe dazu: M. Hartmann in *Zeitsch. d. Deutsch. Paläst. Ver.*, XXII, 145.

die Stadt Aššur (AŠ) gemeint sein? Auf alle Fälle ist ak-ta-la kein Ortsname, sondern ein Stamm I, 2 von אַכְּ-לָא bzw. אַכְּ-לָא.

mât 'LI.E.A.ĤU: (520) K 680, Obv. 12. A.ĤU gehört kaum mehr zum Eigennamen; Obv. 12 wird so zu umschreiben sein: ù mât 'li-e a-ĥu-ul-lu-ú šā nār Tak-ka-? d. h. "das Land 'A(i, u)lē jenseits des Flusses Takka-?"⁶

amêl Elam [NUM.MA].ai: (140) K 518, Obv. 14. Die Klammer ist zu streichen; die Ideogrammgruppe ist vollkommen erhalten.

amêl Mar^{ki}: (137) K 467, Obv. 12. Es fehlen die Stellen Obv. 10 und 14, wo mât Mar^{ki} steht. Warum ist Mar hier und nicht unter littera M eingereiht? Etwa wegen des vorausgehenden Amurru bzw. MAR.TU?

mât A.RA.BU: (539) K 17, Obv. 18. Der Text bietet mât A-ra-mu; s. v. A.RA.MU bringt dann T. dieselbe Stelle gleichfalls und richtig.⁷

mât A.RA.PI: (202) K 83, Obv. 13. Dieselbe Stelle erscheint, kurz vorher, richtig gelesen, als šad A.RA.LIM (bzw. ŠI)!⁸ Das von T. unter dem vermeintlichen A.RA.PI gebuchte ^{al}Ar-pa-ai (547) K 587, Rv. 10 muss demnach separat gestellt werden.

^{al}AŠ.ŠA: (530) 80, 7-19, 40 Obv. 8. Kaum so 'zu fassen; viel wahrscheinlicher zu lesen: ^{al}Aššūr (AŠ) ša etc.

mât I.TA.AI: T. bietet nur 2 Stellen, wo dieser Volksname das Determinativ amêlu besitzt; eine vollständige Sammlung aller Stellen (inclus. der 2 von T. gebuchten) bringt Godbey, a. a. O., p. 10. Diese Zersplitterung ist nicht zu rechtfertigen; die Belegstellen für Itai (Itu'ai, Utu'ai) gehören in erster Linie in das geographische Verzeichnis und nicht in jenes der Beamten- u. Berufsamen. Die Itu'ai sind wahrscheinlich von Hause aus ein babylonischer, bzw. assyrischer Aramäerstamm. Dieselben scheinen sich mit besonderer Vorliebe dem Söldnerhandwerk gewidmet und sich im assyrischen Staate im Laufe der Zeit zu einer Art kriegereischer Kaste oder zu einem Praetorianertum aufgeschwungen haben. So würde es sich am einfachsten erklären, dass der Stammname Itu'ai in den assyrischen Beamtenlisten als Bezeichnung für eine bestimmte militärische Charge figurirt.⁹ In den Briefen hingegen lassen sich die Stellen, wo Itu'ai noch seinen ursprünglichen Sinn und jene, wo es die spätere appellativische Bedeutung besitzt, kaum reinlich unterscheiden.

⁶ Die Transskription: mât 'a-li-e-a-ĥu ul-lu-ú etc. giebt keinen befriedigenden Sinn. Man könnte ja versucht sein, so zu umschreiben, weil mir ja eine Ortschaft Aliĥu anderswärts zu belegen ist, nämlich II R 53, 10c; 13d = Johns Nr. 953 (K 1449): ^{al}A-li-ĥu und Johns Nr. 173 (K 353) Rv. 12: ^{al}A-li-ĥi.

⁷ Hierher gehören dann natürlich auch die Stellen, die Godbey, a. a. O., p. 80 s. v. amêl ARAMU bringt; ob amêl a-ra-mi-šu (542) K 114, Obv. 8 irgendwie mit dem Namen der Aramäer zusammenhängt, erscheint mir sehr fraglich.

⁸ Vielleicht A-ra-ši zu lesen und Araši eine Nebenform mit prosthetischem Vokal zu Rāši(u), dem Namen des bekannten babylon. = elamit. Grenzlandes? Für ähnliche Doppelformen vgl. Z.A., XIV, 139, Anm. 1.

⁹ Auch in den assyrischen Kontracten wird Itai, Itu'ai gelegentlich in diesem Sinne verstanden werden müssen. Man vgl. dazu Johns, *Assyr. Deeds and Docum.*, II, 172.

- ^{al} Bâb-Ê.ĶI: (89) K 515, Obv. 9; Rv. 4, 12. Am nächsten liegt es doch, Bâb-bit-ķi zu lesen; dass ĶI hier nicht ideogramatisch, sondern rein phonetisch zu fassen ist, zeigt die weitere, von T. zitierte Stelle (542) K 114, Obv. 13 ^{al} Bâb-bit-ķa (T. ungenau: ga). Bâb-bitķi lag allem Anscheine nach in Nordbabylonien. Ein Bitķu apparu d. h. "Bitķu, das (bezw. im) Sumpfgebiet" verzeichnet die von Peiser in ZA., IV, 369 edierte mythologische Weltkarte ganz im Süden Babylonien.¹⁰ Bitķu bedeutet, gleichwie butuķtu, zunächst Durchbruch, Überflutung, dann aber auch wohl, wie Meissner, *Suppl.* 26 annimmt, "Wasserrinne, Kanal."¹¹ T. bringt als weitere Belegstelle für diesen Namen (144) K 194, Rv. 4: mât Ê-ķi-ai. H. bietet aber mât Bit(?)-ki (sic!)-? (kaum zu A zu ergänzen; für A-A = ai ist zu wenig Raum). Dieselbe Stelle erscheint nun aber auch bei T. auf S. 90 als mât Bit-Ki[-.].! Schliesslich registriert T. unter Bâb-Ê.ĶI noch (328) K 638 (sic!) Obv. 10, 12, 13, wo er ein amêl Ê-ki finden will. In Wirklichkeit steht aber dort amêl KAL(DAN)-KI d. h. wohl irgend ein, seiner Lesung nach noch nicht genauer festzustellender Berufsname.¹²
- ^{amêl} BE.ZU: (839) 83, 1-18, 21, Rv. 9. Hier liegt dem ganzen Zusammenhange nach sicher kein Volks, sondern ein Berufsname vor; derselbe muss daher der Liste Godbey's — wo er fehlt — zugewiesen werden. Für amêl BE.ZU vgl. man noch Brünnow, Nr. 1543.
- ^{al} BÊL-E. Es fehlt die Stelle (767) 83, 1-18, 75 Obv. 16: ^{al} Bê-li-e (so wohl nach den Spuren zu ergänzen).
- ^{al} BA.ĤAR.RI: (552) K. 640, Rv. 6. Ein Lautwert ĥar ist für das Zeichen ĶAR bisher m. W. nicht belegt; daher ist zu lesen ^{al} Ba-ķar(gár)-ri.
- ^{al amêl} BÊL.UṬ-RI: (444) K 645, Obv. 13. Sicher kein Ortsname; es ist zu übersetzen: "die Stadt des bêt-Uṭ(d, t)-ri." bêt-Ud-ri wird irgend ein Berufs- oder Würde-name sein; es findet sich auch amêl UD-ru, nišê UD-ru-u-ti, amêl šabê UD-ru-ti; siehe die Belege bei Godbey, a. o. O., p. 80. Die Lesung des ersten Zeichens steht noch nicht fest, also statt UD auch TÚ, TAM etc. möglich.
- ^{mât} BAR.MA: (448) K 826, Obv. 9.
- ^{mât} BAR.ŠŪ.NU: (448) K 826, Obv. 6.
- Es ist an beiden Stellen von einem Lande Bar (oder Maš zu lesen) die Rede. Das ma hinter Bar in Obv. 9 ist die hervorhebende Partikel, die in den assyrischen historischen Inschriften, besonders denen der älteren Könige, nicht selten Ortsnamen — am häufigsten findet sich ^{al} Aššur-ma — angehängt wird. Was BAR.ŠU-NU anlangt, so ist die betreffende Zeile zu lesen: in dem Lande Bar sind sie (šûnu)." Dieses Land Bar oder Maš muss höchst wahrscheinlich

¹⁰ Man vgl. Hommel, *Grundriss d. Geogr. u. Gesch. d. alt. Orients*, I, 253, 347 u. dazu Anm. 1.

¹¹ Die Wurzel bataķu bedeutet "durchschneiden, abschneiden, abtrennen"; die Weiterentwicklung der Grundbedeutung zu "Wasserrinne" hätte ihre Parallele an palgu (𐎶𐎵𐎲) = "Kanal" von 𐎶𐎵 "spalten, teilen."

¹² Ein šangu ša Bit-e-ki kommt in K 16 (s. Bezold, *Catal.*, p. 4) vor. Ist E-KI hier = Babilu? Zur Schreibung E-KI vgl. man Hommel's *Grundriss*, 306.

von dem arabischen Maš unterschieden werden; denn die im gleichen Briefe (K 826) erwähnte Landschaft Mušašir weist für Bar (Maš) auf eine Gegend im Norden, bzw. Nordosten oder Nordwesten Assyriens.

BÎT.^mAM.IA.TA.: (564) K 937, Obv. 7. Ist kein Ortsname! Die betreffende Zeile lautet: "in das Haus des Amjata', eines Dieners des Königs, meines Herrn, sind sie eingetreten."

mât BÎT.KI[.] siehe oben unter ^{al} Bâb-Ê-ĶI!

BÎT.KIR.KI: (437) K 168, Obv. 18. Obv. 18 ist so zu transskribieren: bit-rim-ki bit-ša-la-me-e ni-pi-e-še.¹³ bit-rimki = "Haus der Ausgiesung" und bit-šalamê = "Haus eines bestimmten Opfers" (šalamû = ܒܝܬ ܫܠܡ?). Bit-rimki und Bit-šalamê sind ursprünglich wahrscheinlich Namen von gewissen Tempeln oder wenigstens von speziellen Teilen bzw. Zimmern einer grösseren Tempelanlage; sekundär wurden sie dann als Titel von Gebetsserien gebraucht d. h. wohl als Bezeichnung für jene Gebete und Hymnen, die in den betreffenden Heiligtümern rezitiert wurden. Ein Stück der Serie Bit-šalamê bildet z. B. King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, Nr. 48 (K 8116), p. 112.¹⁴ Über die Serie Bit-rimki vgl. man Bezold bei Lehmann, *Šamašsumukin*, II, 77 und besonders King, *Magic*, pp. 14–16; [vgl. jetzt auch Morgenstern in *Mitt. der vorderas. Ges.*, X, 129, 143].

BÎT.ŠA.LA.ME.E.NI (437) K 168, Obv. 18; s. die Bemerkung zu BÎT.KIR.KI. Das NI ist abzutrennen; es gehört zum folgenden ni-pi-e-še = "Zauberei."

^{al} BA.IT.TI: (326) K 1249 Rv. 3. Kein Ortsname! Rv. 3/4 ist zu umschreiben: ^{m. ilu} Za-mà-mà-er-ba it-ti (4) ^{m. ilu} Šamaš-šum-ukin ki-i u-ša-a etc.

^{al} amêl GAL.DA.AI.LI: (573) K 1003, Obv. 9; 13. Auch dieser Ortsname ist zu streichen; AL ist nicht Determinativ, sondern ist von ḫazānu abhängig; Obv. 9 lautet: amêl ḫa-za-nu ša ali amêl rāb-da-ai-li. In Obv. 13 steht vor amêl rāb-daili ein Zeichen, das seinen Spuren nach wahrscheinlich zu A, aber keineswegs zu ALU ergänzt werden darf. amêl da-ai-lu bzw. amêl rāb-da-ai-li ist ein häufig in den Briefen begegnender Berufsname; man vgl. die Stellen bei Godbey, a. a. O., p. 77.

^{al} GU.MU.UM-NU: (616) K 1164, Obv. 4; ^{al} Gu-mu-um-ni: l. c. Rv. 2. Das dritte Zeichen ist in beiden Fällen nicht UM, sondern TA: also Gumutanu(i).

mât GA.MIR. Siehe meine Bemerk. zu mât KUR.IR.BI.IT!

^{al} GAR.GA.MIŠ. T. bringt auch eine Stelle, (609) K 1140 Obv. 4, wo merkwürdigerweise ^{al} ŠA.GAR.GA.MIŠ geschrieben steht. Auf dem Original steht tatsächlich so; denn auch Bezold (s. dessen *Catalogue*, p. 232) bietet die gleiche Lesung wie H. Diese sonderbare Schreibung beruht sicher nur auf einem Schreibfehler des assyrischen dupšar's, der ŠA(GAR) aus Versehen doppelt schrieb.

¹³ Die richtige Umschrift bietet schon Lehmann, *Šamašsumukin*, Teil II, 76.

¹⁴ Šalamû und die gleichbedeutende Spielform šalammu = "ein bestimmtes Opfer" fehlen in Delitzsch's *Handwörterb.*; ein paar Belege gibt Muss-Arnolt, *Diction.*, 1044a, s. v. šalammu (K 168 und die Stellen in King's *Magic* sind übersehen).

- mât GU.RA.NAM.MU. Die aus der Briefliteratur für diesen aramäischen Stammnamen zu schöpfenden Stellen geben keine Handhabe dafür, ob die Lesung Guranammu oder Gurasimmu zu wählen ist. Dass letztere die einzig richtige ist, zeigt Brit. Mus. 83, 1–18, 53 (vgl. Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 1859), wo die Schreibung amēl Gu-ra-se (oder šum)-mu begegnet. (76) K 555, Obv. 9 ergänzt T. jedenfalls mit Unrecht zu amēl Gu-ra-[nam-ma-ai]; nach H.'s Ausgabe kann hinter RA nur ein Zeichen A bezw. auch A-A oder ein ähnlich grosses gestanden haben. Falls die Ergänzung zu amēl Gu-ra-[ai] das Richtige treffen sollte, könnte dieser Name mit dem Stammnamen amēl Gur-ra-ai combinirt werden.¹⁵
- mât DA.KÎN.NI: (641) K 9389, Obv. 5. Dieser Name ist am rationellsten Da-du-ni, zu lesen; der Lautwert gin (kin) für DU ist verhältnissmässig recht selten.¹⁶
- al DU.U.M.MU.ĶU. Die Stelle (849) K 580, Rv. 6 gehört nicht hierher. Dort steht nicht al Du-um-ma-ak-ka, wie T. bietet, sondern al Du-um-šaḫ-ḫa(!).
- al DÛRU: (505) 81, 2–4, 95, Obv. 8. Dieser Name ist zu streichen; der Text bietet al Dûr-mŠarru-uk-ku; die Stelle gehört mithin unter die Belege für Dûr-Šarrukin (findet sich auch da bei T).
- al XV DÛR.A.NI: (147) K 1170, Rv. 11. Dieser Ortsname ist schwerlich richtig. Das ina ali bezieht sich in diesem Briefe, wie mir scheint, auf Vorhergehendes: 50 amēl . . . ina ali = 50 amēl . . . (Name abgebrochen) [sind] in der Stadt; 15 Festungen etc.
- DÛR ša mMU.ŠE.ZIB: (685) 81, 2–4, 96, Rv. 1. An dieser Stelle liegt kaum ein Ortsname vor; ich möchte übersetzen: "Die Burg des Mušêzib etc."
- DÛR ša al MÊ pl. TUR.NA: (158) K 530, Obv. 16. Hier ist Dûru fälschlich zum Ortsnamen gezogen; die Stelle lautet: die Festung der (Stadt) Meturna.
- al DÛR.SA.ME.DI: (615) K 1153, Obv. 3; Rv. 2. Lesung ganz unsicher! H. bemerkt in einer Note z. St. ausdrücklich: "these characters are so badly broken as to be almost illegible."
- al Ū.A.ZA.E. T. stellt mit Unrecht neben al Ū.A.ZA.E ein eigenes al Ū.E.ZI; beide sind identisch; die ihnen zugewiesenen Stellen sind daher unter eine Rubrik anzuordnen. (198) K 5464 Obv. 29 ist nur mehr al Ū-a(?) zu erkennen, was notirt werden musste.
- mât ZI.KI.TI.A: (515) K. 621, Obv. 15. Da in dem gleichen Briefe (Obv. 6) mât Zi-ki-ra-ai vorkommt, so liegt es nahe, zu vermuten, dass hier ein und derselbe Landesname vorliegt und die jetzt vorhandene, sich auf das dritte Zeichen (TI, RA) beschränkende Diskrepanz nur auf einem Schreibfehler basirt. Zu dessen Heilung gäbe es zwei Wege. Entweder steht RA irrtümlich für TA oder TI irrtümlich

¹⁵ Zu Gurai vgl. die zwei Stellen, die T. s. v. amēl ĶUR.RA.AF bringt.

¹⁶ Darf K 12955 = Johns, *Decds*, Nr. 1063, Zl. 4: al Da-du-na? verglichen werden? Zu DA.KÎN.NI stellt T. auch amēl Da-i-ka-ni-e (848) K 508, Obv. 4; Rv. 2; ob wir es hier mit einem Stamm- oder Berufs-Namen zu thun haben, dies lässt sich vorderhand nicht erüiren.

für RI d. h. in dem einen Falle wäre der Name als Zikitia (Zikitai), im anderen als Zikirai anzusetzen.

nâr ZA.N[A.N]I: (583) K 1094, Obv. 5. Im Texte ist nur ZA vollständig erhalten; dahinter Spuren von Zeichen, deren Ergänzung ziemlich aussichtslos erscheint, schwerlich NA.NI, eher nâr ZA.B[A] = Zâb.

al HA.AI.DA.ŊU. Ob mit Haidanu auch al HA-da-[a]-a-an (395) Bu 91, 5-9, 136 Rv. 1 zusammengestellt werden darf, erscheint mir recht fraglich. Das von T. hinter DA ergänzte A ist sehr unsicher!

mât HAL.MAT.AI: (94) K 1147+1947, Rv. 3. Vielleicht besser Hal-lat-ai zu lesen und dann mit dem Namen des aramäischen Stammes amêl HA-la-tu (Sanherib-Prisma V, 36) zu kombinieren.¹⁷

mât HAL.ĶU.TE: (245) K 513, Obv. 5; Rv. 9. Dieser Ortsname ist zu streichen. An beiden Stellen ist zu lesen nišê pl. mâtî hal-ķu-te d. h. die davongelaufenen Einwohner, die flüchtigen Landesbewohner; Obv. 11 steht hal-ķu.¹⁸

al HAL.ŠI. An keiner der von T. zitirten Stellen steht Hal-ši, sondern überall Hal-šu. Nachzutragen ist (197) K 181, Rv. 5: al Hal-šu.

al HA.MA.KA.NA.AI: (468!) Rm 217, Rv. 9. Das dritte Zeichen ist nicht KA, sondern RA, also HA-ma-ra-na-ai. Es handelt sich um eine Ortschaft jenes aramäischen Stammes, der im Sanherib-Prisma I, 45 als amêl HA-am-ra-nu erscheint.¹⁹ Dass wir es thatsächlich mit einem aramäischen Volksstamme zu thun haben, beweist der vorausgehende Volksname amêl Li-ķu-ú-a-ta-ai = amêl Lu-ķu-ú-a-tu in Tiglathpileser's III. Platteninschr., II, 4 und Thontafelinschr., Obv. 5.

al HI.Ú.RI: (763) 81, 2-4, 126, Rv.(!) 2. Harper setzt zu RI ein Fragezeichen!²⁰

nâr HAR.RU.ŠIK.RA. Die Ansetzung eines Kanals dieses Namens ist unnötig; an den zwei zitirten Stellen ist zu lesen: nâr ĥar-ru sik-ra (von sakâru = "abdämmen, verstopfen"); die beiden Belege sind demnach dem vorausgehenden Artikel nâr HAR-RI zuzuschieben. Es erscheint mir übrigens sehr unwahrscheinlich, dass an allen diesen Stellen, wo bloss nâr ĥar-ri(ru) steht, überhaupt ein nomen proprium vorliegt. Ich glaube, man wird überall mit einem Appellativum auskommen; ĥarru bedeutet Graben und dann, mit dem Determinativ nâru versehen, speziell "Kanal." Für ĥarru = nâru beachte besonders Strassm., *Dar.*, 503, 1. Wenn ein bestimmter Kanal mit

¹⁷ Für diese Lesung spricht m. E. auch der Umstand, dass unmittelbar vorher mât Ru-ķa-ķa-ai erwähnt wird. Dies dürfte mit amêl Ri-ķi-ķu bei Sanherib I, 41 identisch sein. Siehe dazu unten meine Bemerk. zu amêl RI.TIGU.AI.

¹⁸ Zu ĥalku = Flüchtling vgl. man Meissner, *Suppl.*, 38. Zu den dortigen Stellen füge noch: KK 2852+9662, col. i, 19 = Winckler, *Forschung.*, II, 30: ĥal-ķu munnabtu, ferner Bu 88, 5-12, 5 Rv. 19; 27 = Peiser, *Mitt. d. Vord. asiat. Ges.*, VI, 145: ĥa-al-ķu(!)-tim (bezw. tum).

¹⁹ Der Name begegnet noch in Tiglathpileser's III. Platteninschr., II, 4 und Thontafelinschr., Obv. 5, geschrieben al HA-mar-a-ni, in Sargon's Annalen 304: amêl HA-mar-a-na-ai. Eine Stadt al HA-am-ra-nu bei Sanherib IV, 59; Chronik B, I 14. Der Name dürfte sich in dem Babylonien und Assyrien scheidenden Gebirgszuge des Ĥamrin (Ĥamrân) konservirt haben.

²⁰ Eine aramäische Ortschaft Babylonien's, Namens al Ĥi-ú-ru, wird in Sargon's Annal. 275 erwähnt. Dieser Umstand könnte für die Richtigkeit von RI in Ĥi-ú-ri sprechen

- nār ḥarru bezeichnet werden soll, so wird noch ein näherer Zusatz hinzugefügt; so z. B. nār ḥar-ri Pi-ḳu-du = Hilpr. *Artax.* Nr. 9, 37, 38, 96 u. öfter; nār ḥa-ar-ri ba-ši: Kudurru I. des Melišihu, col. i, 24 oder ḥar-ra ša Zabunu, ḥar-ra ša Hazuzu: Strassm., *Cyr.*, 130.
- ^{al} H A R. T E[.]. Das unter diesem Stichworte gebuchte 'nār ḥi-ri-te (621) K 1208, Obv. 4; 7 ist aus der Reihe der Eigennamen zu eliminieren. Ḥiritu ist Appellativum in der Bedeutung "Graben, Kanal (im letzteren Sinne mit Determin. nār versehen)."
- ^{māt} I A. A. N U (792) 83, 1-81, 52 Rv. 8. Kein Landesname! Rv. 8 lautet: ù šarru bēli-a i-du ki-i kiskir(r)u²¹ ina māti *ia-a-nu* d. h. "und der König, mein Herr wisse, dass Unterhalt (Vorrat) im Lande nicht vorhanden ist."
- ^{māt} K A B. B U: (301) K 84, Obv. 21. Gleichfalls zu streichen! Die betreffende Zeile lautet: ina pāni-ia u ina pān mātâte *gab-bu* d. h. vor mir und vor allen Ländern (oder "vor aller Welt").
- ^{al} K A K. Z A. Unter den Stellen, die T. gibt, figurirt auch (346) Bu 89, 4-26, 9 Obv. 3 mit der Schreibung ^{al} Kak-sim. Thatsächlich bietet H. das Zeichen NAM(SIM). Dasselbe dürfte aber kaum richtig sein. Entweder liegt bei H. ein Druckfehler vor oder, wenn wirklich auf dem Original so steht, ist der Fehler dem assyrischen dupšar in die Schuhe zu schieben. (NAM)SIM wohl in ZI zu emendieren. Bei der grossen Ähnlichkeit beider Zeichen hat die Verwechslung nichts Auffallendes an sich.
- ^{māt} K A L. D U. D I: (798) K 1023, Obv. 6. Der Name ist Lab-du-di zu lesen, was T. schon aus (537) K 8535, Obv. 5, wo ^{māt} La-ba-du-da-ai geschrieben wird, hätte ersehen können. Letzter Stelle bringt T. unter dem Buchstaben L.²²
- ^{māt} K A L. N U: (326) K 1249, Obv. 3. Dieser Landesname ist wieder zu streichen. Obv. 3 lautet ṭu-ub libbiḫi ù ṭu-ub šēri ša šarri kiš-šat *dan-nu* bēli-ia d. h. "Freude des Herzens und Wohlbefinden des Leibes des mächtigen Königs des Weltalls, meines Herrn." Ähnlich (328) K 638, Obv. 6: ana šarri kiš-šat bēli-ia.
- ^{al} K U. B A T[.]: (101) K 561, Obv. 18. Der Text bietet ^{al} Ku-?; die Ergänzung zu BAT sehr unsicher.
- ^{al} K U. L A. N I. A. Zu diesem Artikel setzt T. auch (129) K 5458, Obv. 6, wo er ^{al} Ku-lu-niš liest. Dieses Kuluniš musste als besonderer Artikel aufgenommen werden; eine Identität mit Kulania kann schon aus formellen Gründen nicht leicht in Erwägung gezogen werden. Überdies halte ich es, für das rationellste, das dritte Zeichen (MAN) nicht mit seinem selteneren Lautwerte NIŠ, sondern mit dem gewöhnlichen MAN zu umschreiben. Kuluman, wie ich lesen möchte, ist in Medien oder wenigstens an dessen Grenze zu suchen; siehe dazu: ZA., XV, 366. Zu den dort gegebenen Belegen wäre noch Smith, 343, 8 (vgl. Bezold, *Catal.*): ^{al} Ku-lu-man-ai und

²¹ Geschrieben PAT-ḤI-A. Für die Lesung kiskir(r)u vgl. man Peiser's *Babylon. Verträge*, p. 242.

²² Die richtige Lesung des Namens hat Delitzsch schon längst, auf Grund von II R 53, 15a, festgestellt. Sie dessen *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 239.

Rm 185, Rv. 4 = Johns, *Deeds*, Nr. 525: amél Ku-lu-man hinzuzufügen. Sollten die amél Ku-lum-ma-ai: II R 69 mit den Ku-lu-man-ai identisch sein?

mât KA.AI.MA.NI: (863) K 1196, Obv. 6. Zu streichen! Obv. 6 ist zu lesen: aš-pu-ra a-mat ka-ai-ma-ni.

al KÂR.ilu ANIM: (326) K 1249, Rv. 2. Das hinter ilu stehende Zeichen ist UGUR; mithin der Name Kâr-ilu Nergal zu lesen. Eine gleichnamige und möglicher Weise identische Stadt wird III R 66, Obv. 17d und K 8398, Obv. 2 = Johns, *Deeds*, Nr. 469 erwähnt.

mât KUR.KI. Die Ansetzung dieses Namens erscheint mir nach dem Befunde der angeführten (2) Stellen noch recht bedenklich. K 1915, Obv. 8 bietet H.'s Text: mât(?) GUR(KUR) ki-?; ki wird kaum mit GUR zu verbinden sein; die zweite Stelle (726) 80, 7-19, 24, wo ? mât Kur a ki e steht, ist mir bezüglich ihrer Lesung noch nicht ganz klar.

mât KUR.IR.BI.IT: (197) K 181, Rv. 10. Diese Lesung halte ich nicht für richtig. In dem gleichen Briefe ist (Obv. 9) vom Lande Ga-mir die Rede. Dessen Name steckt m. E. auch in Rv. 10. Ich glaube, man wird KUR als ein Ideogramm für gamâru erklären dürfen und IR als phonetisches Komplement, also mât Gamir^{ir}. KUR ist bisher allerdings als Ideogramm für gamâru nicht belegt, hingegen als solches für napharu = "Gesamtheit, Summa" (so zahllose Mal in den Kontrakttafeln); da nun die Wurzel pahâru der Bedeutung nach sich gamâru sehr nähert, so wird man vermuten dürfen, dass auch für letzteren Stamm gelegentlich das Zeichen KUR verwandt wurde. Es wäre dann Rv. 10 zu lesen: ma-a mât Gamir^{ir} bi-it il-lik-u-ni etc.

al KAŠ.PAR.PAR.EME: (262) K 607, Obv. 9. Wäre genauer zu umschreiben: al KAŠ.BAR(MAŠ).BAR.EME-? hinter EME folgt eine schraffierte Stelle, dann noch ein senkrechter Keil und zuletzt: ku-nu. Ein Ortsname liegt jedenfalls vor. Ob EME noch zum Ortsnamen zu ziehen ist, erscheint mir zweifelhaft.

mât LA.BA.DU.DA.AI. S. meine Bemerkung zu mât KAL.DU.DI.

ilu LA.GU.DU^{ki}: (516) 81, 7-27, 31, Obv. 11. Der Ortsname besteht nicht, was von vornherein wenig wahrscheinlich ist, lediglich aus dem Gottesnamen Lagudu, vielmehr bildet Lagudu den zweiten Bestandteil des Eigennamens, der eine Status-constructus = Kette darstellt. Das erste von Harper mit Fragezeichen versehene, vor ilu stehende Zeichen möchte ich in UŠ verbessern, welches als Ideogramm für emêdu (Brünnow, Nr. 5032) bezeugt ist. Den Namen möchte ich dann Nimid-Laguda lesen. Eine Stadt dieses Namens wird (474) 81, 2-27, 67, Obv. 4: al Ni-mit-La-gu-da und in den Sargoninschriften öfters erwähnt; man vgl. die Stellen in Delitzsch's *Paradies* 231 und Winckler's *Sargon*, Glossar, p. 240.²³

²³ Nimit ist stat. constr. von nimittu, dem Femin. von nimedu, und bedeutet: "Wohnstätte"; dieses Wort erscheint auch noch in anderen Ortsnamen als erster Bestandteil; so kennen wir einen Ort; al Ni-mit.ilu Ištar: (813) K 688, Obv. 8 und (814) 81, 7-27, 34, Obv. 5; ferner II R 53, 31a; ferner ein Ni-mit-ti-šarri^{ki} in Babylonien: II R 52, 37a; eine Mauer in

- nār LI.IS.BE: (295) K 1139, Rv. 6. Dieser Kanal- oder Fluss-name ist zu streichen! Rv. 6 ist zu lesen nāra li-iṣ-bat; vgl. Rv. 5: iṣ-bat-tu-ū lil-li-kām-ma.
- nār MA: (378) 83, 1-18, 11, Rv. 7. Auch dieser Name ist auszumerzen. Rv. 7 lautet ina nāri-ma; ma ist einfach die hervorhebende Partikel; vgl. dazu schon oben meine Bemerk. zu BAR.MA und BAR.ŠÚ.NU. Das von T. unter dem gleichen Artikel gebrachte nār MI (380) Rm 2, 3 Obv. 8 darf wohl nār Ṣalmu bzw. nāru ṣalmu d. h. "schwarzer Fluss" gelesen werden.
- MĀ.NA.KU^{ki}: (516) 81, 7-27, 31, Obv. 12. Dass aus Obv. 12 ein derartiger Ortsname zu entnehmen ist, erscheint mir recht fraglich; die ganze Zeile ist mir rücksichtlich ihrer Bedeutung noch unklar.
- māt ilu NABU.BA.NU: (520) K 680, Obv. 7; 11. Das erste Zeichen ist wohl sicher nur AK und nicht, wie T. annimmt, eine Ligatur von AN und AK = Nabû; beide ähneln sich ja häufig sehr. Der Landesname wird daher als Ak-ba-nu anzusetzen sein. Ein Landesname wie Nabû-bânû wäre auch so auffällig und unwahrscheinlich, dass er sofort Bedenken erregen müsste.
- al NU.UH.BA.IÁ. Dieser Name wird durch zwei Stellen aus (307) K 1078 belegt. Obv. 2 liest T. māt al Nu-ḥu-ba-ia; das MAT gehört nicht zu Nuḥubai; Obv. 2 ist also zu umschreiben: ardu ša amēl šaknu (geschr. SA.KĪN) al Nu-ḥu-ba-ai (sic! nicht iá).
- al māt NA.ILI: (731) 81, 7-27, 41, Rv. 5. Als rationellere Lesung empfiehlt sich ina piḥāt al Šad(Kur, Lat, Nat)-na-an.
- al NI.KUR. An den 2 von T. zitirten Stellen—K 497, K 683—ist jedenfalls die aus den Annalen Tiglathpileser's III. bekannte medische Stadt gemeint; siehe dazu meine Bemerkungen in ZA., XV, 336. Dazu stellt T. auch (520) K 680, Rv.: amēl Ni-kur. Der Text bietet Ne(!)-kur. Es ist dies der Name eines jener zahlreichen aramäischen Nomadenstämme, die Mittel- und Südbabylonien, sowie Elam durchwanderten. Die Ne-kur werden auch in K 1550, Obv. 6, 13; Rv. 8 erwähnt.²⁴ Ob mit diesen Nekur auch der Name Nikur zusammenhängt, das ist eine Frage, die mit unserem jetzigen Material nicht beantwortet werden kann.
- māt NA.M[A.RU]: (667) 81, 7-27, 30, Obv. 17. Bei H. steht nur māt Na-ma[? . . .]
- al NI.MIT.LA.GU.DA. Man vgl. dazu meine Bemerkung zu ilu LA.GU.DU^{ki}.

Babylon hiess Nimitti-^{ilu} Bel, eine solche in Nippur; Nimitti-Marduk. Eine auf elamitischen Inschriften begegnende babylonische Stadt heisst gleichfalls: Nimittu-Martuk; man vgl. ZDMG., LV, 224.

²⁴Edirt in Winckler's *Keilschrifttexte verschiedenen Inhalts*, II, 30. Dieser Text ist überhaupt durch die in ihm vorkommenden Namen solcher Nomadenstämme interessant. Wir treffen da die oben besprochenen amēl Gu-ra-sim-ma-ai (Obv. 16), ferner die aus Sanh., V, 32 bekannten amēl La-kab-ru (Obv. 7, 14), ferner die amēl I-ši-an (Obv. 6), bzw. amēl Ja-ši-an (Obv. 13) = amēl Ja-a-a-ši-an: (280) K 10, Obv. 14 und = amēl Ja-az-an: Sanh., V, 32. Ausserdem werden ein Stamm amēl Gum-gu-ḥu (Obv. 6, 13), sowie die amēl Ḥi-li-im-mu (Obv. 6), amēl Ḥi-li-im (Obv. 13, Rv. 8) erwähnt. Näheres über die babylonischen Aramäerstämme wird man in meinem in Bd. VI, Heft 1 (1906) der *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte* erscheinenden Aufsätze: "Über die älteste Geschichte der Aramäer" finden.

mât NAP.PI.ĤA.A.BI.NI: (802) 81, 7-27, 29, Obv. 6. Dass das von T. mit NAP umschriebene Zeichen nur eine Spielform von NAP sein soll, erscheint mir sehr zweifelhaft; eine solche lässt sich, so viel ich sehe, nirgends belegen. Das betreffende Zeichen findet sich überhaupt in keiner unserer Zeichenlisten verzeichnet. Ich vermute, dass entweder im Original ein Fehler vorliegt oder dass H.—bei der grossen Zuverlässigkeit seiner Textausgabe allerdings weniger wahrscheinlich—falsch gelesen hat. Vielleicht dürfen wir das erste Zeichen in AM emendiren und ist dieses mât Am-pi-ĥa-bi-ni dann mit ^{al} Am-pi-ĥa-bi: K 4785, Zl. 26 = Winckler, *Texte verschiedenen Inhalts*, II, S. 50 identisch.²⁵

NIPPUR. Zu diesem Ortsnamen stellt T. auch ein ^{šad} NI.PIR (311) K 630, Obv. 15. Die Lesung PIR ist unsicher; Harper bietet ŠAB [+ ? . . .] es könnte also ŠAB [. . .] auch nur der erste Bestandteil eines grösseren Zeichens sein; auf alle Fälle musste ein ^{šad} Nipir(?)—? als besonderer Artikel gebucht werden. Falls wirklich Nipir zu lesen sein sollte, dann könnte der sonst Ni-pur geschriebene Berg gemeint sein.²⁶

mât SA.PĀR.[RAT?].TE: (87) K 466, Obv. 9; Rv. 13. Sicher sind nur die zwei ersten Zeichen SA.PAR; PAR ist im Obv. 9 auf Grund von Rv. 13 zu ergänzen.

mât SU.GI.BU.TU: (174) K 619, Obv. 11. Das 1. Zeichen ist ŠUN (ŠIN), also Šu(i)ngibutu.

[]SUK.KA.AI: (767) 83, 1-18, 73, Obv. 8. Hier muss einmal unentschieden bleiben, ob überhaupt ein geographischer Terminus vorliegt, und zum andern, ob vor SUK nicht mehr als ein Determinativ mât, al, amēl zu ergänzen ist. Für eventuelles Sukkai könnte die in den Sargontexten erwähnte Ortschaft Sukkia zum Vergleiche herangezogen werden.²⁷

^{al} SIL.ĤA.AI: (635) K 1516, Rv. 6. Die Lesung Tar-ĥa-ai liegt m. E. näher. Bei dieser Gelegenheit sei bemerkt, dass K 1516, Rv. 1 ff. eine beachtenswerte Ergänzung zu den Angaben des assyrischen Itinerars K 4675 = Johns, *Deeds*, Nr. 1096²⁸ darstellt.

²⁵ Ampihābini neben Ampihābi würde dann zu den von mir in ZA., XIII, 63, Anm. 1; XIV, 124; XV, 366, Anm. 1 zusammengestellten Beispielen gehören. Die Zahl der Beispiele liesse sich noch vermehren. Vgl. noch Anm. 39.

²⁶ Über das Gebirge Nipur vgl. man meine Bemerkungen in ZA., XIII, 98 ff.; XIV, 170 (Nachtrag). Zu den dortigen Stellen füge noch IR 7, E Zl. 6. Nipur lag vielleicht noch etwas westlicher, als ich in ZA. annahm, mehr gegen Kappadokien zu (ungefähr in der Gegend von Melid = Melitene); mithin wäre in ihm ein Ausläufer des Taurus zu erblicken. Sayce geht noch weiter nach Westen; er sucht das Nipur-Gebirge in Cilicien; vgl. *PSBA.*, 1899, 203; ebenderselbe erklärt in *PSBA.*, 1901, 104 Nipur geradezu als Taurus und combinirt damit das Nabor in der nördlichen Liste Ramses III. zu Medinet-Habu. Wieder anders urteilt Belck in *Beitr. z. alten Geogr. u. Gesch.*, 57-70, der den Nipur östlich vom Tigris, in nicht zu grosser Entfernung von Niniveh lokalisiren will. Ich denke, auf diese und einige andere die Geographie Nordmesopotamiens und Armeniens berührende Fragen später an anderer Stelle einzugehen.

²⁷ Khors. 57: al Su-uk-ki-a; Cyl. 28: ^{al} Suk-ki-a und Annal. 40: ^{al} Su-uk-ka-ai.

²⁸ Behandelt von Peiser in *Mitteil d. Vorderasiat. Ges.*, VI, 134 ff.

mât SA.NI.ZA.AT: (197) K 181, Obv. 27.

Der Text bei H. und ebenso auch in IV R² 47, Nr. 3 bietet nicht Sa-ni-za-at, sondern SU.NI.ĤA.AT. Überdies steckt in Obv. 27 gar kein Landesname; diese Zeile ist folgendermassen zu transkribieren: ma-a ū-ma-a mat-su ni-ha-at d. h. "und was ferner sein Land anlangt, so ist es ruhig" (es folgt: und was seine Grossen anlangt, so sind sie gestorben).

al SA.SI.ĤA.NI: (52) K 80, Rv. 1. Das dritte Zeichen ist nicht ĤA, sondern ĶA, also Sa-si-ķa-ni.²⁹

al SIPPAR. Das von T. zu Sippar gestellte^{al} Si-pur (320) K 7473, Obv. 8 und (745) 82, 5–22, 141 Rv. 6 darf nicht mit Sippar identifiziert werden; es wäre als besonderer Artikel einzureihen gewesen. Zur Identifizierung dürfte etwa der Name der medischen Stadt Ši-bu-ur (Ši-pur) in den Inschriften Tiglathpileser's III., wahrscheinlich = Ši-bar bei Sargon und vielleicht = Ši-ba-ra-ai (in Gizilbunda) bei Samsiadad IV. (V.) herangezogen werden.³⁰

nâr PU.RAT.TE. Zu diesem Artikel stellt T. auch (553) K 659, Rv. 7, wo nâr Ū-rat geschrieben steht. Er dürfte damit Recht haben. Denn dieses Ū-rat mag doch wohl ohne Bedenken mit jenem Uruttu kombiniert werden, das in zwei Syllabaren als Euphrat erklärt wird.³¹ Vielleicht ist letztere Gleichung auch etwas ungenau und haftete die Bezeichnung Uruttu bzw. Urat nur an einem der Euphratarme. Sehr wohl möglich erscheint es auch, wie Hommel a. a. O. annimmt, dass Uruttu nur eine lautliche Variante zu Purattu darstelle.³² In diesem Zusammenhange kann dann füglich auch die Frage aufgeworfen werden, ob die spezifische assyrische Schreibung des Euphrat, A.RAT als eine ideographische aufgefasst werden muss, wie dies allgemein geschieht oder nicht vielmehr A.RAT eine weitere lautliche Variante zu Urut(tu), Urat reflectirt und mithin phonetisch A-rat zu lesen ist.³³ In diesem Falle hätten wir dann Arat (Urat, Uruttu) als eine dialektische, auf Assyrien beschränkte Benennung des Euphrat anzusehen.³⁴

²⁹ ĶA bietet wenigstens Harper's Ausgabe. S. A. Smith, *Assyrian Letters*, II, pl. 2, hat NA.

³⁰ Vgl. zu den zitierten Namen meine Bemerkungen in ZA., XV, 299 und 329.

³¹ Für Uruttu vgl. man Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 170, und besonders Hommel's *Grundriss der Geogr. u. Gesch. d. alt. Or.*, 265 ff.; 280.

³² Der Entwicklungsprozess wäre dann so zu denken: P wurde vielfach wie B und zwar als Spirans B^h (für das Vorkommen spirantisches Aussprache der בִּנְדָפֶת im Assyrischen s. unten Anm. 42) gesprochen. Dieses B^h (oder w) ging dann durch Reduktion des Reibungsgeräusches zu ū über, das dann mit dem sonantischen ū zu einem Laute (u) verschmolz. Zum Übergang von b(p) in w, ū (auch, allerdings selten, umgekehrt; vgl. z. B. Ungnad, ZA., XVII, 357) vgl. man z. B. Nöldeke, *Mandäische Gram.*, 49; Nöld., *Syrische Gram.*, §27; Barth, *Etymol. Studien*, 29 ff.; Fränkel, *Aram. Fremdwört.*, 122, 250 (auch pp. xviii u. xxii); Lidsbarski, ZA., IX, 233 (im neuaram. Dialekte von Ṭiari); D. H. Müller, *ZDMG.*, [VIII, 75], Anm. 1 (im sudarab. Dialekte von Šhauri). Der Übergang betrifft fast durchgängig in- und auslautendes B(P); doch lässt er sich auch für den Anlaut konstatieren; ein paar Beispiele bringt Barth, a. a. O., 30.

³³ Mir ist keine Stelle aus babylonischen Inschriften in der Euphrat A-RAT geschrieben wäre, bekannt. In den assyrischen Texten begegnet A-RAT besonders bei Tiglathpileser I., Asurnasirpal, Salmanassar II. und Tiglathpileser III.

³⁴ War gelegentlicher Übergang von b(p) in w, ū(u) eine dem assyrischen Dialekte eigentümliche, lautliche Erscheinung? Dagegen könnte der Name A-rat-ta, den eine mit

T. bringt dann noch unter nār PU.RAT.TE eine weitere Variante des Namens: nār Rat-ti (336) K 644, Rv. 7. Diese ist aber zu streichen! An der betreffenden Stelle steht nār Pi-ti.

nār PAT.TI.ilu BÊL: (621) K 1208, Obv. 11. Der Text bietet nār Pat-ti-AN.BI. Eine Belegstelle, durch welche BI() als Ideogramm für Bêl bezeugt wird, ist mir nicht bekannt. Einstweilen darf dieser Kanalname nur Pat-ti-an-bi bzw. auch Pat-ti.ilu BI(KAŠ) umschrieben werden; der erste Bestandteil ist jedenfalls pattu = "Kanal" (talmudisch פְּתִיָּה), das ähnlich, wie ḥarru, in verschiedenen Kanalnamen erscheint.³⁵

al ŠU.PI.TE: (414) Rm 77, 32. Dazu stellt T., wahrscheinlich mit Recht, auch al Z(Š)ip(b)-te: (95) K 1151, Rv. 5, 7. In Rm 77, 21 erscheint nun auch ein Ort al Šip-te,³⁶ der aber kaum mit Šupite = Z(Š)ipte etwas zu thun hat. Zu Šipte vgl. man noch al Ši-pi-te: 81, 2-4, 159 = Johns, *Deeds*, Nr. 521, Obv. 4. Im Übrigen wird der Name bald mit p, bald mit b geschrieben. Ich notire im folgenden alle mir bekannten Stellen: al Šu-pi-te: 82, 5-22, 34 = Johns Nr. 447, Rv. 6 (Var. bi!); 83, 1-18, 370 = Johns, *Deeds*, Nr. 51, Rv. 3; K 1572 = Johns, *Deeds*, Nr. 877, Zl. 6.—al Šu-bi-ti: V R 7, 114.—al Šu-bu-tú: II R 53, 60b; 72b = Johns, *Deeds*, Nr. 951 (K 276).—]Šu-ba-te[: K 1856 = Johns, *Deeds*, Nr. 278, Rv. 8.—al Šu-bat: II R 53, 41b.³⁷ Šupite ist jedenfalls mit bibl. Šoba (שׁוֹבָה) identisch.³⁸ Darf auch das von T. als separater Artikel vor Šupite angesetzte māt Ši-ba-tu-nu (576) K 1009, Obv. 18 mit Šupite kombinirt werden? Oder darf man an al Ši-ba-te in der babylonischen Grenzlandschaft Suḫi denken? Letzteres begegnet in Asurnasirpal's Annal. col. iii, 32.³⁹

Šurripak in Südbabylonien zusammenhängende und demnach gleichfalls am Euphrat gelegene Stadt trägt, sprechen, falls auch in diesem Aratta der Name des Euphrat stecken sollte. Das ist aber noch recht unsicher. [Zu Aratta vgl. meine "assyriol. Miscell." Nr. 11 in *OLZ.*, 1906.]

³⁵ Man vgl. die Stellen in Delitzsch's *Handwörterb.*, p. 555.

³⁶ Fehlt bei T.!

³⁷ Einige der hier gesammelten Stellen schon von Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 2192, und in *ZA.*, XVI, 416 registriert. Man vgl. auch Johns, *Deeds*, III, p. 495.

³⁸ Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 279. Winckler, *Forschung.*, I, 467, und *KAT.* 3, 135.—Übergang von P in B lässt sich im Assyrischen namentlich in Wörtern, die ein š enthalten, konstatieren; man vgl. dazu Jensen, *ZA.*, XIV, 182 und *KB.*, VI, i, 500 (u. 470). Zimmern, *ZDMG.*, LVIII, 459. Umgekehrt verwandeln Verba tertiae ב dieses gern in פ: Beispiele bei Meissner, *Altbabylon. Priesterrecht*, 111; dieser Übergang ist auch beliebt, wenn eine Liquida im Stamme vorhanden; man vgl. Winckler, *Forsch.*, III, 236. Der Wechsel von b und p ist besonders häufig in den Texten der Hammurabi-Periode; man vgl. z. B. Daiches, *Altbabyl. Rechtsurkund.*, 4, 41, 672; Bezold, *ZA.*, XVI, 416. Auch in den anderen semitischen Sprachen erfolgt der Übergang von P in B vielfach unter der Einwirkung benachbarter Zischlaute oder Liquidae, ebenso wird B als 3. Radikal gern in P verwandelt. Beispiele für diesen Lautwechsel bei: Fränkel, *Aram. Fremdw.*, XIV, XXII, 21, 37, 139-40, 169, 186; Barth, *Etymol. Stud.*, 23 ff.; Barth, *Wurzeluntersuch.*, 51, Anm.; Lidsbarkī, *ZA.*, IX, 234 (Dialekt von Ṭiāri); G. Hoffmann, *ZA.*, IX, 331; D. H. Müller, *WZKM.*, VII, 117: בִּשָּׁב für פִּשָּׁב in den Inschrift. von Sengirli; Kampfmeyer, *ZDPV.*, XV, 11, 17; Nöldeke, *Mandäische Gram.*, 47. [Perles, *OLZ.*, VIII, 181; Behrens, *ZA.*, XIX, 396: š a b ā t u = š a p ā t u.]

³⁹ Šibatu-nu würde sich dann zu Šibate bzw. Šupite verhalten, wie die von mir in *ZA.*, XIII, 631 und XIV, 124 aufgeführten Beispiele; die Zahl der letzteren könnte ich jetzt noch beträchtlich vermehren; man vgl. z. B. nur (S. unten) Bit-Nailāni neben Bit-Nailu und möglicherweise (S. auch oben Anm. 25) Radiani neben Radē.

mât K̄A.A.P.RI.BA.KI.I.U: (437) K 168, Obv. 15. Das 3. Zeichen ist nicht RI, sondern RU. In Obv. 15 liegt jedoch sicher gar kein Ortsname vor; Lehmann umschrieb in seinem "Šamaššumukin," II, 76 die betreffende Zeile also: kal ip-šat ̄ka-ab-ru ba-ki-i-u.

amēl K̄UR.RA.AI: (246) K 669, Obv. 5 steht al amēl K̄U(!)-da-ai! Die richtige Lesung gibt T. s. v. K̄U-DA-AI.

mât RA.BI.TI: (659) Bu 89, 4-26, 17, Obv. 6 liest T. mât Rab-bi-tum. An dieser Stelle liegt jedoch kein Landesname vor; denn der Text lautet: a-na mâtî rāb-BI-LUL(B) d. h. nach dem Lande des rāb-BI-LUL(B). In K 8390, Rv. 7 bleibt die Ergänzung des 2. Zeichens zu BI fraglich.

amēl RU.ZA.PI.: (846) K 673, Rv. 3. Das 4. Zeichen (') ist nicht völlig sicher; ob wir es mit einem Volks- oder Berufsnamen zu thun haben, lässt sich nicht entscheiden.

al RA.DI.E: (281) K 13, Rv. 16. Ortschaft eines gleichnamigen Aramäerstammes, der bei Tiglathpileser III., Thontafelinschr. Obv. 7: amēl Ra-di-e erwähnt wird. Möglicherweise gehört auch amēl Ra-di-a-ni: (102) K 657, Obv. 9, Rv. 11, das Godbey, a. a. O. 81 als Berufsname fasst, hierher.

amēl RA.A.DA.GU.AI: (349) Rm 78, Rv. 4. Der Text bietet amēl Ja(!)-da-ku-ai. Dieser zusammen mit den Utu'ai (= Itu'ai) und den gleich zu besprechenden Riḫiḫuai erwähnte aramäische Nomadenstamm erscheint im Sanheribprisma I, 41 als amēl Ja-daḫ-ku.

amēl RI.ṬI.GU.AI: (349) Rm 78, Rv. 4. Für das 2. Zeichen ist hier des Lautwert ḪI zu wählen, also amēl Ri-ḫi-ku(!)-ai.⁴⁰—Der gleiche aramäische Stammname begegnet in den Briefen auch in der Schreibung mât Ra-ḫi-ḫa (830) K 1376, Rv. 4, sowie als mât Ru-ka-ḫa-ai(?): (94) K 1147+1947, Rv. 3. Dass wir es auch an diesen beiden Stellen mit dem Gebiete eines babylon. Aramäerstammes zu thun haben, zeigt die Erwähnung der Itu' und Rubu' in K 1376, sowie jene der Ḫallatai in K 1147 ff. unmittelbar hinter Ruḫaḫa-ai(?).⁴¹ Bei Sanherib erscheint der gleiche Stamm als amēl Ri-ḫi-ḫu: Prisma I, 41. Durch die verschiedenen Schreibungen wird die Namensform rück-sichtlich ihrer Lesung definitiv festgelegt.⁴²

⁴⁰ In Tiglathpil. III. Thontafelinschr. Obv. 6 begegnet gleichfalls amēl Ra-ḫi-ku, ferner in K 4286 (Johns, *Deeds*, II, p. 171): Raḫiḫuai. Man beachte noch das Femin. Ri-ḫi-ḫi-i-tú (folgen Aššur-i-tú und Ar-me-i-tu) in Johns, *Deeds*, Nr. 969, Zl. 7.

⁴¹ Der Text bei H. zeigt hinter A noch A-ŠA; das letzte Zeichen wird wohl in A, also -ai, emendiert werden dürfen. mât Raḫiḫa: K 1376 fehlt bei T.

⁴² Die verschiedenen Schreibungen des Namens mit ḫ und h sind etwa so zu erklären. Die Grundform wird wohl als *Ra(i)ḫiḫu angesetzt werden dürfen, was in der spezifisch babylonischen Aussprache *Ragigu gelautet haben muss. Die Babylonier haben nun dieses g des 2. und 3. Radikals offenbar nicht als Explosivlaut, sondern als Spirans ausgesprochen; dies beweist die Schreibung Riḫiḫu und das Auftauchen von ḫ als 2. und 3. Radikal in Riḫiḫu und Ruḫaḫa. Ein neuer Beweis für die von Haupt auch fürs Assyrische angenommene Existenz einer spirantischen Aussprache der בִּגְדָּת **בגדט**! Siehe dazu besonders Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gram.*, § 43, und Meissner, *Altbabylon. Privat.*, 107², sowie meine Bemerkungen in *ZA.*, XVIII, 179. Dieselbe wird vor allem auch bestätigt durch die griechischen Transskriptionen in den erst neuerdings gewürdigten griechisch-babylon. Texten; siehe dazu Pinches, *PSBA.*, 24, 113. Als weitere Belege für die spirantische Aussprache der בִּגְדָּת **בגדט** seien noch vermerkt: Akatia, n. pr. fem. für Ahatia (Meissner, *B.A.*, II, 560); Našḫu = Nušku(?) und Milḫi = מִלְּחִי (Zimmern, *KAT.* 3, 416, 1); die beiden Beispiele bei Tallqvist, *Sprache der Con-*

- mât ŠU.UB.RI.AI. Die von T. aus K 506 und K 525 ausgezogenen Stellen, wo mât Šú-pur (a bzw. ai) geschrieben erscheint, sollten besser unter einem besonderen Stichwort, ŠÚ.PUR gebucht und von SU.UB.RI.AI ausgeschieden sein; denn die Identität von Šupur und Šupria ist recht zweifelhaft.
- al ŠU.ĤU.RA: (649) 81, 2-4, 110, Rv. 5. Der Text bietet als 3. Zeichen PA, nicht RA, mithin Šu-ĥu-pa.
- amēl ŠAL.LU.UK.KI.E.A: (281) K 13, Obv. 21. Dazu fügt T. amēl Šal-lu-ki-si-a (789) K 1964, Obv. 7. T. hätte begründen müssen, weshalb er Šallukisia zu Šallukkêa stellt! Ich glaube nun allerdings, dass in K 1964 tatsächlich der gleiche Volksstamm, wie in K 13, gemeint ist. Anstoss erregt nur das "si" in Šallukisia; aber dieses kann ganz leicht durch die sich geradezu aufdrängende Emendation von SI in E beseitigt werden. Man vgl. noch K 4793 (= Winckler, *Texte verschied. Inhalts*, p. 69), Obv. 24: . . . Šal-lu-uk-ki-e.
- mât ŠA.A.LI.MU: (521) 83, 1-18, 4 Rv. 26. Das dritte Zeichen ist nicht LI, sondern ŠIM (RIK); ausserdem liegt an der betreffenden Stelle durchaus kein Landesname vor; man hat Rv. 26 zu umschreiben: ʔe-e-mu u a-mat ša a-šim-mu d. h. "den Befehl und das Wort, welches ich bestimme."
- nâr ŠUM.RIŠ.ʔ (520) K 680, Obv. 9. Das erste Zeichen ist jedenfalls Šum (Tak); das zweite aber nicht RIŠ (ŠAK), sondern deutlich KA; das dritte Zeichen (= TABʔ) ist nach H.'s Bemerkung auf dem Original verstümmelt. Der Name wird mithin als nâr Tak-ka-ʔ anzusetzen sein.
- al ŠE.IB[.]: (646) 79, 7-8, 292, Obv. 11. Das erste Zeichen ist ŠI, nicht ŠE!
- al mât ŠE.TA.AI: (259) K 509, Obv. 6; 12. Der Text bietet nicht mât ŠE, sondern BIR, mithin al Bir-ta-ai. Zum Überflusse erscheint in Rv. 1 noch al Bi-rat.
- mât TA.ĤU.U.NI: (467) Sm. 456, Rv. 19. Dieser Landesname muss gestrichen werden. Rv. 19 ist zu umschreiben: i-šat-ta-ĥu-u-ni; vgl. Rv. 7; ni-šat-ta-aĥ.
- al TI.AL[.]: (282) K 524, Rv. 1. Das zweite Zeichen ist IL, nicht AL!
- al TA.I.GU.IK.KI. Dieser Ortsname ist nur an der einen der zwei zitierten Stellen, nämlich (462) K 1374, 20a vollständig erhalten; das dritte Zeichen ist nicht GU sondern KU. An der zweiten Stelle, (460) K 1250, Obv. 2, ist von dem Namen nur erhalten: al Ta-i-ʔ . . . ; die Ergänzung zu Ta-i-gu-ik-ki erscheint im höchsten Grade als fraglich.
- mât TA.TA.AI: (649) 81, 2-4, 110, Obv. 9. Die Lesung mât ist nach H. fraglich.

tracte Nabunaid's p. 2 gehören kaum hierher; dagegen, wie namentlich auch gegen ma'assu = ma'attu, issi = itti wandte sich: Hilprecht, *Assyriaca*, 46-7 (seinen Ausführungen kann ich nur teilweise zustimmen); vgl. ferner den Ortsnamen Andaria = Anzaria (ZA., XVIII, 184), Ĥi-in-za-ni: (547) K 587, Obv. 14, Rv. 12 = Ĥindānu, Martenai: K 359, Obv. 3; 9 = Maršanai: Sarg. Ann., 337; Khors., 130 und vielleicht auch piš(?) -ku-da, Variante bei Rawl. zu pit-ku-du: Asurnas., Annal. I, 24; endlich beachte noch, dass das Zeichen ĤUM die Lautwerte ĥum und gūm besitzt und das neben tamāĥu auch tamāku "fassen" (letzteres: Tallqvist, *Maqlā*, 4, 72) vorkommt. [Vgl. jetzt auch meine Bemerk. in ZA., XIX, 235, 236.]

T.' Namenliste weist mancherlei Lücken auf. Ich habe schon im Vorausgehenden eine Reihe von Belegstellen, die T. übersehen hat, gelegentlich notirt. Im folgenden gebe ich eine Liste von Namen, die ich, zumeist zufällig, als Desiderata konstatiren konnte.⁴³ Es gibt ja Fälle, in denen man schwanken kann, ob an einer Stelle ein Orts- oder ein Berufsname oder keiner von beiden vorliegt; aber es sind doch verhältnissmässig wenige.

amēl Ū-ba-ai-na-at: (282) K 524, Rv. 12.

al A-da-ri-ḥi-ti: (771) 83, 1-18, 49, Obv. 8.

Az^{ki}: (336) K 644, Rv. 28.

al Ā-r-nu-?: (324) K 14093, Obv. 4.

al Ar-pad-da-nu: (43) K 122, Obv. 16. T. bucht diese Stelle s. v. AR.PAD.DU; er unterdrückt *nu* und bietet nur Ar-pad-da. Dieses Verfahren ist nicht zu billigen; der Name lautet Arpaddanu und dieser in Mesopotamien oder in Assyrien zu suchende Ort darf mit dem syrischen Arpadda nicht zusammengeworfen werden.

al Ba-il-tak(?) -nu: (511) K 654, Rv. 1.

al Bir-te šā^m Adād-rim-a-ni: (441) K 534, Obv. 7. T. betrachtet mit Unrecht nur Bir-te als Ortsnamen und lässt das dazugehörige šā A. weg; siehe dessen Artikel BIR.TUM. Derselbe Ort begegnet auch in K 4675, Zl. 38 (ergänzt); 39 = Johns Nr. 1096. Zeile 39 steht dort:]^m Adad-rim-a-ni; Peiser (*Mitt. d. vorderas. Ges.*, VI, 135) ergänzt den Namen zu [Dūr]-^m Rammān (bezw. Adad)-rīma-a-ni; in Hinblick auf K 534 empfiehlt sich wohl mehr Birtu šā einzusetzen.

Bit-^m Da-ni-i: (1) K 167, Obv. 12.

Bit-Ka-ri: (242) K 11148, Rv. 9. Identisch wohl mit dem māt Bit-Ka-a-ri in Knudtzon's *Gebete a. den Sonnengott*, Nr. 30, Obv. 4; Rv. 1; 4 (ri ergänzt); siehe dazu auch meine Bemerk. in ZA., XV, 367.

Bit-^m Mar-du-u: (179) K 664, Obv. 4; mārē^{pl.} ^m Mar-du-u: l. c. Obv. 9-10. Mit diesem Namen darf etwa Bit-Mar-di-ti-e: (414) Rm 77, 4 verglichen werden.

Bit-Na-ai-la-ni: (220) K 1274, Obv. 9. Jedenfalls identisch mit dem von T. gebuchten Bit-Na-ai-lu (548) K 1122, Rv. 6.

al Dan-ni-te: (205) K 537, Obv. 10.

Dūr-Ta-gi-da-a-ni: (126) K 609, Rv. 6.

māt Za-me: (754) K 5457, Obv. 12. Hinter ME folgt noch KAK[+?-]; ob dies noch zum Namen gehört, lässt sich nicht entscheiden.

al Za-an-ban: (516) 81, 7-27, 31, Obv. 17. Ist zu den Stellen, die T. unter ZAB.BAN gibt, hinzuzufügen.

māt Hal-zi-at-bar: (480) K 8402, Obv. 15. Ist nachzutragen zum Artikel HAL.ZI.AT.PAR.

Ḥindānu: al Ḥi-in-da-nu: (671) K 78, Rv. 5; māt Ḥi-in-[da-nu]: (93) K 1057, Obv. 7.—al Ḥi-in-za-ni: (547) K 587, Obv. 14; māt Ḥi-in-za-ni: l. c., Rv. 2.

⁴³ Eine erschöpfende Nachprüfung in dieser Hinsicht wäre für mich zu zeitraubend, da ich das von mir aus H. excerpierte geographische Material nicht mehr separat zur Hand habe, sondern bereits verzettelt und in meine alphabetische Zettelsammlung eingereiht habe.

māt Har(Mur)-ša-ai: (466) S. 51, Obv. 9.

al Ki-ba-at-ki: (310) K 610, Rv. 7; 11.

al Kar-si-tú[. . .] (381) 81, 2-4, 55, Obv. 12. Das letzte Zeichen ist wahrscheinlich, und damit wohl auch der Name, vollständig. Wahrscheinlich wesenseins mit dem Karzita[. . .] in Knudtzon's *Gebete a. d. Sonnengott*, Nr. 33 (= 83, 1-18, 545) Obv. 7; 9. Siehe dazu ZA., XV, 366.

al Láh(Bír etc.)-ga-ga: (129) K 5458, Obv. 10.

māt Ma-na-nu: (520) K 680, Obv. 4.

amél Nu-ḥa-nu-ú-a: (210) K 647, Obv. 15. Ein aramäischer Volksstamm, dessen Name auch in der bei Sargon erwähnten aramäischen Ortschaft Babyloniens: ^{al}Nu-ḥa-a-ni: Sarg. Ann., 268; ^{al}Nu-ḥa-anu: l. c., 275, wiederkehrt.

al Nam-pi-BAR(?): (323) K 6005, Obv. 6.

al Ni-mit-ilu Ištar: (813) K 688, Obv. 8. Diese Stelle ist nachzutragen im Artikel NI-MIT-ilu IŠTAR.

Nār šarri, der Königskanal: (275) K 82, Rv. 4.⁴⁴

amél Ka-ḥar-ra: (685) 81, 2-4, 96, Rv. 22. Ein aramäischer Nomadenstamm; unmittelbar vorher werden die Itu' erwähnt.

māt Ša-at-te-ra: (646) 79, 7-8, 292 Obv. 13.

amél Ta-zi-ru: (138) K 469, Rv. 11. Wohl ein aramäischer Nomadenstamm; es folgen auf die Taziru die Itu'.

amél Taḥ-ḥa-': (282) K 524, Obv. 10; 11.

amél Taḥ-ḥa-s(š)ar-ú-a: (281) K 13, Obv. 21. Name eines babylonisch-elamitischen Nomadenstammes, den Hommel (gemäss mündlicher Mitteilung), wie mir dünkt, recht glücklich, mit jenem der Ortschaft Ταχαράπα, die Ptolemäus VI cap. 2 unter medischen Plätzen aufführt, combiniren will.⁴⁵

al Taḥ-er: (207) K 541, Obv. 9.

Schliesslich will ich noch ein paar Namen verzeichnen, die zwar wahrscheinlich gleichfalls für geographische Eigennamen angesehen werden müssen, bei denen aber auch noch eine andere Fassung als möglich im Auge zu behalten ist:

amél Ai-bi-la-ni: (715) K 7351, Rv. 5. Ein māt Ai-bi kommt nach Bezold, *Catal.*, p. 1883, in 83, 1-18, 352 vor; vielleicht steht auch dort Aibilani.

Bit-ku-din: (245) K 513, Obv. 4; 13; 17; (312) K 689, Rv. 9.

Bit-^mRi-ta-a: (129) K 5458, Obv. 5.

APRIL, 1905.

⁴⁴Über den nār šarri vgl. man jetzt Hommel, *Grundriss d. Geogr. u. Gesch. d. Alt. Or.*, pp. 284 ff. und dazu meine Nachträge in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1905, Nr. 10, Sp. 617. Der nār šarri wird auch in dem Texte Hilprecht, *Babyl. Exped.*, IX, Nr. 72, Zl. 2 erwähnt.

⁴⁵Das dritte Zeichen ist sicher S(š)ar (HIR), nicht DI, wie Johnston annimmt, der den fraglichen Namen im *Journ. of Amer. Orient. Soc.*, XVIII, 141, Daḥḥa'diua lesen will. Dieser Stammname begegnet auch in K 4793 (= Winckler, *Texte verschied. Inhalts*, p. 69), Obv. 14: amél Taḥ-ḥa-s(š)ar-ú-[a].

ASSYRIOLOGICAL NOTES.

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I. SOME FURTHER NOTES ON THE CODE OF HAMMURABI.

It seems to me that Professor R. F. Harper, by his paper in the October number of *AJSL.*, 1905, has said the last word on most of the points which he has touched, and these notes are only meant to add a few little jottings in support. It has three times fallen to the lot of the present writer to issue a translation of the Code, without being able to set out the reasons which underlay his versions. Some misunderstanding has naturally resulted. It was my principle not to depart from the translations already published unless for what seemed to me good reasons. It does not conduce to the confidence of the public in Assyriology, as an exact science, lightly to produce alternative renderings, merely for the sake of change. It is desirable, however, to try to get nearer to the sense of the original, whenever fresh material becomes available.

In the case of the *muškênu*, I think that I was the first to recognize in print that this was the reading of *MAŠ.EN.KAK*. At any rate, I did at once note, when I first received Scheil's edition, that he did not yet know this true reading; and in October, 1902, I pointed out its true meaning. It is very difficult to hit on a really nice rendering. My "poor man" was qualified by the remark that "he was not a beggar." Later I ventured on "plebeian," not as marking a change of views, but as a closer rendering, not entirely free from false implications. Some things were true of the plebeian in Roman history which were not true of the *muškênu*. I do not think any of the renderings hitherto given get any nearer to conveying the idea of the original; perhaps it will be best to refer to him as "the Babylonian *muškênu*" simply. I think it very probable that the class included the subject race, not propertyless, but of lower standing. It may have included freed slaves and foreign residents, but I am not aware that these are more than conjectures. I think that a confusion with *TUR.KAK* underlies some of the renderings which have

appeared. It seems hazardous, in view of the ultimate degradation of the word to denote a beggar, or indigent person, to build any conclusion as to the meaning in the Code upon the usage in the seventh century B. C. Further, it is a hazardous proceeding to try to get a meaning out of the ideogram, by combining the separate meanings of the separate signs. A compound ideogram, or Sumerian word, does not always mean what can be thus made out by combining its elements. I think it is safer to deduce his status from the Code and from any hints there may be in contemporary documents. I do not remember to have seen it noted that in Bu. 91-5-9, 324, l. 1 (*CT.*, II, p. 23) 3 GAN of land are said to be situated ina ša muškênum; in Bu. 91-5-9, 611, l. 7, we have ina muškînu; these references suggest that there was a district, or quarter, of Sippara inhabited in an especial way by the muškênu; as the modern or mediæval Ghetto by Jews.

I quite agree with Professor Harper that a more idiomatic translation is to be preferred, but Assyriologists are wont to be very critical. If I had rendered "one shall do so and so" by "it shall be done," or "he shall be treated so," it is safe to say that I should have been accused of not knowing my grammar. As I have enough mistakes to answer for already, I do not wish to have a shoal of imaginary errors attributed to me.

The difficult clause at the end of § 21 has hitherto given no tolerable sense. The verb ḫalālu perhaps means "to pierce, perforate," in which case the fate of the malefactor was to be spiked. Or perhaps it is really the Hammurabi analogue of alālu, "to suspend" on a pole. In either case, I conjecture the secondary meaning here to be much what would be expressed by "to gibbet." That the burglar should be gibbeted opposite the breach he had made is quite in keeping with the punishment of the thief at the fire, who was to be thrown into the fire itself. An explanatory list published by Mr. Pinches in the last number (October) of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, similar to the four columned syllabaries, gives muttaḫlilu as one of the meanings of a defaced ideogram; the others being ma'iri, sarri, šarraḫu, pallišu, and ḫabbatum(?), rev. 13. As šarraḫu is "thief," pallišu very likely the "burglar," who bores through, or digs through, the wall (palāšu is the verb used in this section of the Code for the offense, and pilšu for the "breach" or "hole"), and as ḫabbatu means a "robber," it seems not unfair

to suppose that *muttaḥlilu* means much the same. As the form *Ittafal* is usually passive, *muttaḥlilu* may be "the gibbeted one," rather than "one who creeps into holes." At any rate, he was a thief of sorts. That words so associated in syllabaries are synonyms is rather too much to assume, and *sarru* may be no more than "rascal," as the word is used in many passages where theft or burglary does seem out of question. What the *ma'iru* means exactly, here, seems to me obscure, and I will not speculate. I do not think the sense of "to bore through, pierce, etc." is unsuitable to the other places in the Code where *ḥalālu* is used; *ittaḥ-lalu* could still mean "have been passed through." I therefore suggest *ḥalālu* = "to impale," a thief.

For the verb *bāru* I would suggest the meaning "to estimate;" "to suspect" would suit some places, but it came to mean very nearly "to pay." From "estimation," "suspicion," we should easily reach "accusation," where the context requires it.

The status of the *amēlu* plays an important part in the award of penalties in the Code. Thus the penalties for the *amēlu* are more primitive and severer than for the *muškēnu*. It is interesting to note that this was true also for the time of *Sumu-lailu*, as we learn from Bu. 91-5-9, 2188 (*CT.*, IV, p. 42), where it is agreed that if the son adopted repudiate his adoptive parents, *aran mār awēlim imidušu*, "they shall lay on him the penalty of a *mār awēlim*."

The word *numtu* occurs in the contracts; *e. g.*, Bu. 88-5-12, 601, l. 18, published *CT.*, IV, p. 40, where it seems to denote a list of household furniture, Bu. 88-5-12, 19, l. 19, 26, and Bu. 91-5-9, l. 5 (*CT.*, II, 1 and VIII, 32) where it seems to mean the same thing, as well as in the phrase *numat bīt abišunu* in Meissner's *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, No. 100, ll. 3, 7, 12, 14, 18, where Meissner suggests the rendering *Inventär*? I think it may be the same as *nubtu* in the New Babylonian Contracts, if that can be shown to mean anything like "possessions." It seems to be confined to "movables."

The word *ilku* seems to be very difficult to render by one word. I conceive that every estate held of the state—excluding, in my opinion, ancestral property, though this is not certain—was held subject to some service, either owing work, or produce, or some due. Those held by service, whether discharged as work on public works, or military service, or local police duty, or tax-

collecting, or any other form of service, come under the head of *ilku*. Those which furnished produce, corn, fodder, wood, dates, etc., were held by the *nāši biltim*. In these cases rent is scarcely the right word; "quit rent" is not exact either. I think these produce rents were either always a tenth, or were commuted for a tithe later. Some lands may have paid both tithe and service. When a holder was absent, his son could take on his holding and render the service. That service is what I meant by "business"—rather an awkward rendering, but I could not think of a better then, and I wanted a term that would cover some sort of feudal service and the duty which a "catcher," who might be a hunter or a fisherman, had to perform. I do not think that we can press *ŠU.ĦA* to mean "fisherman," because *ĦA* means "fish," but it commonly does mean that, and the fishermen may have been state officials. *Ħammurabi* concerns himself with them (*LIH.*, No. 8, ll. 8, 15, etc.) where *ŠU.ĦA* pretty obviously are not constables. Perhaps all fisheries were royal preserves and all fishermen constables, or keepers, to prevent poaching. In the Code, however, there is nothing to suggest fishermen, if there is also nothing to forbid it.

The difficulty about Winckler's reading of *ina dannat šar-rim turru* seems to me to be how to get *gefangen worden* out of it. The nearest I can get is, taking *turru* as synonym of *edêlu*, "to bolt in," "who is imprisoned in the *dannat šarri*;" but is that legitimate? I take it that *turru* means "to shoot back the bolt," therefore "to lock." Only, in the very close parallel *ina ħarran šarrim turru*, it does seem that the official was captured, as the case of a merchant ransoming him is supposed. If we take this meaning for *turru*, it seems to me that *dannat* can only be "defeat," "disaster."

The terms *nishu*, *nisihtu*, with or without *nasâhu*, are continually used in contracts, and suggest that *nisihtu* was a "levy" on produce, which was seized for state use. If we read *šâb nishatim*, we must have the plural of *šâb nisihtim*; it seems less likely that we are to read *šâbam* and take *nishatim* as accusative plural. We should then have "the levy (of men and) produce."

In § 111 everyone has hitherto followed Scheil's reading *U.SA.KA.NI*, but the syllabary above referred to, published by Mr. Pinches, shows that it should be read *U.SA.KA.KAK*

and pronounced piḥu; but this still leaves some doubt as to what the drink was. As it is preceded by U.SA.AŠ.A.AN = dišibdaḥḥu and akalpanu, and that by U.SA = billitum; it seems that we may look for KA.KAK as a separate meaning. This = appu élû, kanaku, nappašu, pikalulu, šakâšu, while there is a GI.KA.KAK and an U.KA.KAK.NU.GIG; but none of these give much help to me. Perhaps someone else will get farther. As to diptim, I thought of a root 𐤁𐤍𐤏, perhaps "to languish." I thought that harvest time would be a time of thirst. The beer-seller sells her beer cheaper, and she is paid in corn when it is cheapest. So she infringes § 109, and I could only suppose that she was justified by the demand. The substitution of bêlu-ut, for bêl kit-tu, as a reading of the signs AN.EN.LIL.UD in l. 10 of the Prologue, is one that now seems to meet with approval. I must confess that it greatly tempted me, and, I suppose, in face of the authority it now commands, I ought merely to say I was too ignorant to see its compelling worth. There are a number of cases in contemporary documents where AN.EN.LIL is used in the place of the ordinary bêl; especially in names like Šamaš-AN.EN.LIL-aplim, Šamaš-EN-aplim, which certainly are the same name. But the same name could also be written Šamaš-el-li-el-aplim, which made me think that EN.LIL was read ELLIL, and so made me pause. Besides, the claim that the Code would have written bêl kittim is only so far valid that, where phonetic complements are written, the laws of grammar are strictly followed; and the same is true in contemporary documents; but where the scribe omits the complement he rarely holds to rules; for example, he writes a final *u*, indifferently for *a*, *i*, *u*, singular or plural. If he uses the mimmation, he is generally right in his cases. On such grounds as these, I felt that Scheil's reading had as much to be said for it as the other, and so left it alone.

This paper has, however, already exceeded fair limits, but we may look forward with confidence to much light from the publication and study of the contemporary documents.

II. SOME NOTES ON THE GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES IN THE RFHARPER LETTERS.

Mr. O. A. Toffteen has given a wonderfully complete list of geographical names in the January, 1905, number of *AJSL.*, which has inspired this short paper of remarks and comments.

The suggestions which I respectfully offer may be regarded rather in the light of inquiries for information than presumptuous corrections, or hostile criticisms.

I hope Mr. Toffteen will be able to settle a question which at times has much puzzled me and to which I can contribute no solution; viz.: Are the people of ^{mat}AI the Madai or not? Perhaps the ^{amel}A-a of K. 7351 [715], rv. 5, may be added here. Is it not possible that we should read Eš (or Aš?), for Ab, in ^{al}Abdudi? The ^{amel}u-ba-a-a-na-at of K. 524 [282], R. 12, are perhaps not a people, but a class. For the land of Êbir-nâri add K. 1050 [67], rv. 5. I do not see why Madaktu follows this on p. 84. In the reference to ^{al}Êkallâte read rv. 5, 9 for rv. 59. In K. 680, obv. 8, 12, I think we should read ^{mat}'li-e, and omit the following aḥu from the name. In the same text [520], obv. 7, 11, the ^{mat}Akbanu can be read. In 81-7-27, 30 [802], obv. 6, I suggest reading ^{mat}Am-pi-ḥa-a-bi. I would restore ^{al}An-di-a in K. 1037 [215], rv. 2. In K. 831 [214], obv. 7-8 the scribe may have intended ^{al}Esiggi, though he has followed the unusual plan of writing the determinative in one line and the city name in another. The letter has other peculiarities. I think there is not any doubt that in K. 1176 [504], obv. 11, (^{al})U-pi-i is meant. In the references to Ur read 82-5-2, 11, rv. 7 (for obv. 7). The text of [202] has ^{mat}Arašî, not Arapi; and, perhaps, in [547] Arpai is a scribal error for Arpadai. In the references to Aššur, in [474] the context suggests that ^{al}Šâr is Eridu. The obscure folk, or class, Itu' are also mentioned in 81-2-4, 96 [685], rv. 22, associated with the ^{amel}Ḳamurra. In Rm. 2, 529 [762], rv. 7, it seems as if the scribe meant ^{al}A-ti-nu. To the many references to Babylon, we may perhaps add [763], obv. 11, and the unusual forms Bab-'i-la in K. 626 [24], obv. 13; also K. 4758 [842], rv. 8, for Bab-ili. I rather doubt if ^{amel}Din-dir-ai [811] belongs here or should be combined with Ḥindar. Bâb-Ê-ḳi occurs in K. 1376 [830], obv. 8. A folk name may be ^{amel}Ba.....nu in K. 1009 [576], rv. 5. The signs ^{al}Bi-bar-bar may be read more ways than one in K. 607 [262], obv. 9. Whether ^{al}BE-e is to be read Bêle, or Tille, seems very doubtful, but we may compare ^{al}Be-li-e in 83-1-18, 75 [767], obv. 15. The ^{al}^{amel}bêl uṭri is doubtful in [444]; I read kapparri. For ^{al}Baḥarri read Bakarri. I do not see

why ^{mat}Na-ri should follow here. To ^{mat}Barḥalza I would add K. 4770 [97], obv. 10. For ^{al}Birtai add K. 509 [259], obv. 12, and for ^{al}Birat, K. 509 [259], rv. 1. The land of Bit Adini may be meant in K. 12046 [642], obv. 2, and K. 1227 [314], rv. 3. Whether ^{al}Daḥ-er should be read Daḥ-ali, as suggested by ^{amēl}Daḥ-ḥa-li-u-a in K. 13 [281], obv. 21, is rendered doubtful by the ^{amēl}Daḥ-ḥa-' in K. 524 [282], obv. 11. The city Dilbat is clearly meant in K. 1249 [326], obv. 9, though the scribe only writes KI after it and not ^{al} before it. How we should read ^{al}Din-u-zu(?) in K. 683 [556], rv. 9, is not clear to me. The land or city Diri may be meant in 81-2-4, 93 [866], obv. 7. For Dûr-Šarrukîn add K. 7384 [319], rv. 6; K. 667 [503], rv. 17; K. 4758 [842], rv. 5; 82-5-22, 134 [859], rv. 19; and read [558] for [588]. The ^{amēl}Dutai in K. 1009 [576], rv. 6, seem to be a people. The ^{amēl}Ḥamat of K. 680 [520], obv. 14, may be added to ^{mat}Ḥamate. It seems as if ^{al}Ḥinṣani in K. 587 [547], obv. 14, ^{mat}Ḥinsani, rv. 2, were meant to be proper names; and the identity of the writers of K. 580 and K. 1214 suggests that in the latter we should restore Ḥindar in obv. 8 [850]. Probably Ḥariḥumba should be restored in K. 185 [74], obv. 6, from obv. 14. I think it would be better to read Ḥa-dar-ru on p. 93 instead of Ḥatišaru. In 83-1-18, 29 [350], obv. 8, the ^{amēl}Kidarai are named, and to the references for ^{al}Kakzi add K. 1153 [615], rv. 1. The ^{amēl}Kaldudi of p. 93 are probably better read Labdudi, and combined with the ^{mat}Labadudai of p. 95. With ^{mat}Lakê may perhaps be combined ^{al}Lakûa in K. 688 [813], rv. 3. The ^{amēl}Liḥûatai of Rm. 217 [468], rv. 8, seem to deserve record, as the ^{amēl}Lapiai in K. 1125 [600], obv. 8. However read, the ^{amēl}MA.LA.BE of S. 1338 [701], rv. 1, occur along with the ^{amēl}Malaḥâ, as the scribe spells the name, and in the same line. Possibly the name on K. 4736 [272], rv. 2, should be read ^{amēl}Mumuḫû. The ^{amēl}Mandirai of K. 636 [168], rv. 23, is perhaps ethnic. Marad is clearly meant in K. 905 [853], obv. 9 and 13 (Ma-rad) as well as rv. 5. With Mē-Turnu could be taken ^{nār}Turnu in K. 667 [503], rv. 16, though the scribe certainly gives a curious form to his ^{nār}. The ^{amēl}Naḥal are named in K. 1009 [576], rv. 6. In K. 4736 [272], obv., ^{amēl}Namḥanu seems to be all the name. How to read the ^{amēl}Nampibar, K. 6005 [323],

obv., is somewhat of a puzzle. With ^{al} ^{mât} Na-ili may be combined the Bit-Naialani of K. 1274 [220], obv. 9. Nikûr is certainly a tempting suggestion for what has been read Sallat, Şallat, or Šallat. Nimit-Ištar very likely occurs also in K. 688 [813], obv. 8, as Nimit-Lagudu may in 81-7-27, 31 [516], obv. 11. The interesting form for Nineveh, Ni-nà-a, but without ^{al} or -KI, appears also in 85-1-18, 52, [792], rv. 16. How ^{al} (?) Nunak should be read in K. 1376 [830], rv., does not seem clear, nor is Nappihâbini very sure; for nap we may read am, scarcely kar(?), and -ni does not seem to belong to the name. For Nippur we might add K. 672 [797], obv. 5, 17, and, perhaps, K. 94 [287], obv. 1. For Sasiḫani read Sasiḫani. Sippar is probably intended, K. 544 [804], rv. 4. It is usual, I think, to read ^{amēl} Pillat, K. 680 [520], rv. 17. The scribe has perhaps blundered in writing Patti-Bêl, with bi for be, but is Patti-anbi impossible? The Sidonians seem to be meant also in Bu. 91-5-9, 107 [795], rv. 11. It is possible that ^{al} Šipte is meant in K. 1136 [608], rv. 1. The ^{amēl} Kamurra in 81-2-4, 96 [685], rv. 22, should be a folk. Whether ^{mât} Kipani is a proper name, or only so designated from the kēpu who ruled it, seems doubtful. Possibly Ribat is an unusual writing for Dilbat, it could be read Dalbat at any rate, and RI has a value di. The scribe wrote ^{amēl} Ruzapiḫ and ^{amēl} Rutikuai. The ^{al} Raḫarrida in Rm. 2, 529 [762], obv. 5; the ^{mât} Raḫiḫa in K. 1376 [830], rv. 4; the ^{amēl} Rasitu in K. 508 [848], rv. 5, and ^{al} Raši in K. 997 [169], obv. 8, seem likely readings. For Ruguḫai read Ruḫuḫai, for Šuḫura read Šuḫupa. Possibly ^{al} Šamaš-nāšir is a proper name for a town, in K. 63b [168], obv. 7, 10, 13, l. 17, probably to be read ^{al} Šamaš-nāširi. A town Šamanaku appears to be intended in 81-7-27, 31 [516], obv. 12. For ^{mât} ŠE.IB UR read ŠI.IB UR. The land ^{mât} Šaltera appears to be intended in 79-7-8, 292 [646], obv. 13. To the references for Tabal may perhaps be added (Ta)-balai, K. 683 [556], obv. 20, and (Ta)-ab-al-la-a, K. 1376 [830], rv. 1. The ^{al} Ti-il ḫa? of K. 524 [282], rv. 1, is obscure, but the ^{amēl} Targibātu seem to be meant in K. 1009 [576], rv. 5; as also ^{al} Tarḫai in K. 1516 [635], rv. 6.

The accepted reading of the final double a-a in ethnic names is not very convincing, and it is to be hoped that Mr. Toffteen's

collections of geographical names will throw some light upon it. It can hardly be the case that all these place-names of Babylonia and Assyria fall into the two categories, Semitic and Sumerian. It would be very interesting to try to make out the affinities of the pre-Semitic names with those of Asia Minor, and perhaps Elam. Hence it does not strike one as the best order to follow which preserves that of the Semitic alphabet and ignores the vocalization. A purely alphabetical order is the most convenient for reference, and as scientific as the other.

As my own lists did not register the more familiar names, like Nineveh, Babylon, Elam, etc., except a few peculiar spellings, I have not made any comments on these. It may seem ungracious after the labor which Mr. Toffteen must have expended even to suggest incompleteness; but, after all, in any attempt to sum up the contribution of the Letters to knowledge, every hint is of value. Hence, I hope to be pardoned for thus intruding a dry list of suggestions into the pages of *AJSL*.

III. SOME ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO THE "POLITICAL, RELIGIOUS, AND SOCIAL ANTIQUITIES OF THE SARGONID PERIOD."

In the January, 1905, number of *AJSL*. Mr. A. H. Godbey has given an invaluable list of the official titles occurring in Professor R. F. Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*. In the October number he has commenced what promises to be a series of most illuminating papers on the officials of Assyria and Babylonia—a subject that needs research, and will in his hands evidently be made to yield much of deep interest.

It is probably true that every earnest student has made such lists for his own private use, and many are probably more exact than mine, as a comparison with Mr. Godbey's showed me that I had overlooked several places. His efforts deserve all the help his fellow-students can give, and as I can never now hope to do what I had intended with my material, it may not be unwelcome if I add here the little additional items I had collected.

The ^{amél}lagar ê-gal is mentioned on K. 823 [781], rv. 2, as apparently in command of troops. The ^{amél}RAB.SE.GAR is clearly meant in 81-7-27, 34 [814], rv. 7, and to be restored, obv. 10. The ^{amél}AŠ.SE on p. 79 may therefore be omitted. The scribe has made an abstract of the compound title ša muḫḫi ali, in K. 1106 [589], rv. 4, by adding ūtu to the expression,

though he does not prefix ^{amēl}u. So, also, in Bu. 89-4-26, 71 [875], obv. 4, we must clearly restore a(na) (man)zaz pânûti as the abstract for ^{amēl}manzaz pâni. The ^{amēl}abarakku is surely intended in 79-7-8, 138 [433], rv. 9 and S. 1223 [712], obv. 5, where the scribe seems to have written ^{amēl}ŠAL.UM. For the ^{amēl}RAB.MUGU, K. 846 [843], obv. 12, may be added. It seems likely that the ^{amēl}ŠU.I may be restored in K. 568 [4], obv. 13. The female counterpart of the ^{amēl}šaknu appears to be the ^{amiltu}ša-kin-tu, who is named in K. 548 [724], rv. 12. The plural of ^{amēl}ÂSÛ seems to be intended in 81-2-4, 101 [739], obv. 5. The title ^{amēl}bēl kap-(pari) is probably to be restored in K. 1168 [49], rv. 6; and I submit that in K. 645 [444], obv. 13, the true reading is ^{amēl}kap-pa-ri, in which case the ^{amēl}bēl udri may be omitted from p. 80. Perhaps ^{amēl}na-sik-a-ni should be restored in K. 1098 [585], rv. 2. So, too, in K. 1051 [580], obv. 1, restore ^{amēl}u-ra-si. The Elamite official (^{amēl})zi-il-li-ri also occurs on K. 1374 [462], rv. 4. The ^{amēl}par-šu-(mu) seems to be intended on K. 1119 [595], rv. 9. The (^{amēl})ša-an-da-bak-ki is to be restored on K. 94 [287], rv. 2. Probably the ^{amēl}tar-gi-ma-a-(na?) on K. 1009 [576], rv. 5, is the same as the ^{amēl}targumanu and an official title.

It must have been matter of no little perplexity to decide whether certain terms indicate offices or proper names, ethnic or personal. It would not be fair to assume that Mr. Godbey and Mr. Toffteen discussed together these doubtful terms and agreed who should take them. The Itu'ai and Šelappai occur in Mr. Godbey's list, and rightly in my opinion, but both have been treated as ethnics sometimes. The ^{amēl}Gurâ of K. 555 [76], obv. 9; the ^{amēl}Ha-am(?) of K. 638 [328], rv. 7; the ^{amēl}Nubanûa of K. 647 [210], obv. 15; the ^{amēl}Ḳupāši of K. 542 [193], obv. 6; the ^{amēl}Ra'annu of 83-1-18, 4 [521], obv. 21, do not appear in Mr. Godbey's list, and perhaps rightly so; but neither do they appear in Mr. Toffteen's. It seems to be certain that they should be in one or the other.

The extremely interesting investigation of the position of the ^{amēl}TU.biti adds considerably to our knowledge of the temple officials. In writing the account which I did in *ADD.*, II, I was rebutting the suggestion that the ^{amēl}TU.biti was merely a "servant;" that is, that he occupied a menial office. Mr. Godbey

also rejects the idea that he was a mere porter or janitor. I insisted that the evidence before me only implied a tenancy of temple endowments. His position might be compared with the rector of a church living in England, who may be a lay person, male or female, or even a corporation, and has no sacerdotal office, though he receives a share, usually the larger portion, of the endowments, and has duties to perform and expenses to bear. This seems to agree well with what Mr. Godbey has made out. I could only feel sure of his share of endowment and obligation to contribute to the upkeep. Now it seems clear that he had rights over the temple and was its "rector" in many ways. I still think he could be a layman, and that probably the corporation of the amēl TU.bīti of a temple shared its endowments and were in a sense its proprietors as well as tenants of its lands.

Whether Mr. Godbey has hit upon the right reading of TU. bīti I do not feel sure. I think that êrib-bīti would imply a right to entrance, but I do not suppose êrib means "entrance" itself. In favor of the reading êrib may be quoted the words of H. 512: "Total, 14 amēl eribûte." Mr. Godbey has given a most happy solution of that rather difficult text, taking the doubtful first word to be kibû, "order." There are still difficulties which perhaps might be solved another way. For example, we might suppose that the two Nabû-zêr-lišir were different; that the former was raised to be mayor of the palace, the latter to be a palace employee; then the scribe's total would be correct. But Mr. Godbey's solution is very likely true. However, as UR is the ideogram for the verb bašu and its derivatives, I would read Nabû-šarḫu-ubaša in lines 3 and 9. Another small point calls for notice. Meissner in his article on K. 4467 omits to notice that it actually joins K. 1989 and Bu. 91-5-9, 193 and that 83-1-18, 425 is part of the same tablet. The combined text is published as ADD., No. 809. It is the No. 660a on which I based my remarks about the amēl TU.bīti. There is, I think, just a doubt whether in the *Sippara Cultustafel* kī pī amēl TU.bīti does mean "according to the instructions of the TU.bīti." It might mean "in accordance with," as we should say "on the same scale." On the whole, however, I can only congratulate Mr. Godbey on having done so much to illuminate the subject.

I may venture to add a few remarks upon his equally delightful essay on the Esarhaddon succession. I did not mean to imply

exactly what Mr. Godbey makes me do. I do not doubt that Esarhaddon meant the succession to be what it was, nor do I doubt that practically Šamaš-šum-ukin was king of Babylon from the day his father died, as Ašurbânipal was king of Assyria, only that in the reckoning of the twenty years of the former's reign we cannot include both 669 B. C. and 648 B. C. Hence, as I still think Šamaš-šum-ukin survived the Nisan of 648 B. C., I sought to explain his not reckoning any of 669 B. C. to his reign. I still think that the same native power which set Ašurbânipal on the throne, namely, Zakûtu, the possible queen regent, and the sons of Esarhaddon, joined with the nobles of Assyria, also set Šamaššumukin on the throne of Babylon, but that was not a "native power" in Babylon; and I hold that they did so later, when Ašurbânipal had already reigned some time in Assyria. In that case, Ašurbânipal and not Esarhaddon set Šamaššumukin on the throne; for, once Ašurbânipal was king, no one else could do it. All action, whether on the part of court or people, consequence of sworn obligation or mere obedience of order, was summed up in the royal power. At the same time, I hold that, in spite of all destination by Esarhaddon, Šamaššumukin could not have proclaimed himself king, nor could anyone in Assyria do so but Ašurbânipal. In Babylon no organized native power existed to do so. But the formalities of a rightful accession had to be complied with, and it seems to me that Bêl had to be brought back to Babylon first. The land was "kingless," whoever held the actual power, in his absence. Mr. Godbey contends for the actual power, I for the legal right. Once king, or even as prospective king, the Babylonians may have reckoned Šamaššumukin's reign and even dated in his reign, but the chronicler would reckon from legal accession; and I think the other arguments I adduced prove that 648 B. C. was reckoned his twentieth year.

I might agree with all Mr. Godbey has said, except with his view that Šamaššumukin came to the throne of Babylon in 669 B. C., if that is so taken as to imply his death in 649 B. C. But my agreement does not imply that I regard all he says as proved. Let us take H. 870, discussed by Peiser in *MVAG.*, 1898, pp. 256 *sqq.*, as well as by Meissner and Johnston later. The writer says to the king: "thy son . . . thou hast assigned to him the kingdom of Assyria, thou hast appointed thy eldest son to the kingdom of Babylon." Making the same assumption as all the

commentators have done, as yet, that the king addressed is Esarhaddon, and the two king's sons are Ašurbānīpal and Šamaššumukīn, then, as Mr. Godbey says, they recognize that Šamaššumukīn, not Ašurbānīpal, was eldest son of Esarhaddon; *i. e.*, they translate *mārīka rabû* as "thy eldest son." Now they admit that *mārīka* is the same thing, when addressed to a king, as *mār šarri* at other times. Yet Mr. Godbey immediately says: "Šamaššumukīn was not *mār-šarri rabû*." This seems to contradict the letter. If Šamaššumukīn is meant as the one destined to be king of Babylon, then we may take it that he was also *mār-šarri rabû*, whether that means "eldest son" or merely "crown prince," *i. e.*, the prince destined to succeed to the throne. In the latter case the letter would seem to say, if we insist on *mār-šarri rabû* being Ašurbānīpal, that Esarhaddon at this date had meant *him* to be king of Babylon; and that afterward, perhaps in consequence of the agitation of which this letter is a sign, he changed his mind. If we take it that the words only mean "eldest son" here, then the complaint surely is on the part of Šamaššumukīn, or his friends, that Esarhaddon has passed over the eldest son in making Ašurbānīpal, merely "thy son," king of Assyria. It seems to me that this is more likely; "the thing not done in heaven" was then the ignoring of the eldest son's right.

Still the fact that, as Mr. Godbey shows, Ašurbānīpal is usually regarded as *mār-šarri rabû* makes it very doubtful whether Šamaššumukīn was the eldest son. The only chance to maintain this, in face of H. 870, is to distinguish *mār šarri rabû* as "eldest son" from *mār-šarri rabû* as "crown prince." As both expressions are written the same way in Assyrian, this is drawing rather a fine distinction. But, if we suppose that the protest in the letter was effectual, all would be easy. Ašurbānīpal would have been "eldest son," *mārīka rabû*, at the time of the letter destined to the second place as king of Babylon, but afterward given his rightful place as king of Assyria.

Now, it has long been maintained that the brothers were twins, that meaning being given to the word *talimu* which each uses of the other. It need not perhaps mean more than "peer." Both brothers may have been of the same age, even though not of the same mother; or, for some other reason, neither could claim seniority in age or rank. Aside from H. 870, the only evidence Mr. Godbey produces to show that Šamaššumukīn was the eldest

son is that king's own statement that he was *mâru rêštu*. He might claim that rank, if he was of the same age as *Ašurbânipal* and there were no elder sons. The inscription is Brit. Mus. No. 87220, published *CT.*, X, No. 5, and dates from the ninth (or even possibly the nineteenth) year of *Šamaššumukin*. This claim to be *mâru rêštu* may have been one of the causes of the quarrel between the brothers. Once more, the argument that, though *Sennacherib* was a younger son, he was addressed as *mâr-šarru rabû*, does not amount to much; for, first, his older brothers might have been all dead, and, in the second place, his name only implies that he had brothers at all, if it was given with reference to the actual state of *Sargon's* family at his birth. He might have been "named for" some relative, in whose case the name expressed facts. On the whole, I maintain that the evidence that *Šamaššumukin* was older than *Ašurbânipal* is singularly weak. In any case, it would not affect my argument as to the date of his accession.

In my quotation of Knudtzon's No. 149 I rather laid myself open to doubt by not setting out all my reasons. Neither *Šamaššumukin* there, nor *Ašurbânipal* in No. 147, nor, so far as I can see, *Esarhaddon* anywhere, speaks in the first person. The speaker in each of the *Gebete* is the officiating augur; in No. 149, an ^{amēl} *mâr bârî*; but it is not to be doubted that the king himself inspired the inquiry. I simply ascribed the inquiry, for short, to the reigning king. It is dated on the 23d of Nisan in the eponymy of *Marlarim*. Surely *Ašurbânipal* was then *already king of Assyria*. That *Šamaššumukin* sent the inquiry may be true enough, and I have no objection to that view. But if he had not already taken the hands of *Bêl* by the 23d of Nisan, he could count none of the eponymy of *Marlarim* as his first year. If he took the hands of *Bêl* next day, the eponymy of *Marlarim* could only be his "accession year." That is all I argued for. Even so, I see no reason to doubt that my way of putting it was literally correct. To say that *Šamaššumukin* sent the inquiry does not contradict the statement that *Ašurbânipal* sent it, if they acted in harmony. There is no reason to suppose independent action on *Šamaššumukin's* part, and if *Ašurbânipal* merely consented to the sending of the inquiry, there is no falsity in saying he sent it. Even where the inquiry is about a *mâr-šarru ša bît ridûti*, I see no objection to saying the king sent the

inquiry. Of course, Maspero's statement that the reply to No. 149 was unfavorable is mere conjecture; so is the assumption that it was favorable. All that can be deduced from No. 149 is that Šamašsumukīn had not yet taken the hands of Bēl, nor gone to Babylon. Of course, once Šamašsumukīn had taken the hands of Bēl, for all dates his accession would be reckoned earlier, so as to allow no interregnum. Men probably dated all through the Nisan of Marlarim as in his reign. Only, they also dated the next eponymy as the first year of Šamašsumukīn. What is there to prevent a man asking a god for permission to do a thing which it is improbable will be granted? Mr. Godbey appears to think that because Šamašsumukīn prayed, "let it be done," Maspero and I are debarred from thinking it improbable that he would get his request. It is just because he asked that I think it improbable. If there was no difficulty about it, sentimental or practical, why ask permission? It is to be noted that Bēl is not asked, but Šamaš. It is still very obscure to me why Šamaš was so much consulted by Esarhaddon and his sons, not Bēl or Ašur. There are some similar *Gebete* to other gods, but for some reason Šamaš appears in an overwhelming importance at this period. Why was this? Which Šamaš was it?

Now, the Babylonian Chronicle does say that "in the month of Aarū Bēl and the gods of Akkad set out from Assyria and on the 11th of Aarū entered into Babylon." That was in the šattu rēš Šamašsumukīn. On my view, the šattu rēš was the eponymy of Marlarim, and I imagine the answer to the above inquiry to have been partly "yes," partly "no." It allowed both Bēl and Šamašsumukīn to go, almost at once, to Babylon, which they entered three weeks later. But I believe it said "no" to the request that Šamašsumukīn might take the hands of Bēl in Assyria. I believe he did not do that till Nisan of the next year. If he had taken the hands of Bēl in Assyria, this was his first year, not the šattu rēš. If Esarhaddon died in 669 B. C., the rest of that year was the šattu rēš of both Ašurbānīpal in Assyria and Šamašsumukīn in Babylon, if both came to their thrones before the year and eponymy were out. If each came to the throne in the Nisan of Marlarim 668 B. C., then the first three months of 668 B. C. were in the šattu rēš of each king, and so the whole of the eponymy of Marlarim would have been their first year. I believe that was the case with Ašurbānīpal,

but I think No. 149 shows it was not so for Šamašsumukin. He had not taken the hands of Bēl by the 23d. I believe he did not do so till Bēl and he were both in Babylon. I expect that he did not do so till the next Nisan. In that case, all the time after Esarhaddon's death, up to Nisan in the eponymy of Gabbaru, was an accession year, though it exceeded twelve months. Hence 667 B. C. would be his first year; and that is what the Ptolemaic Canon makes it. I cannot find that any document implies that 668 B. C. was his first year. Does Mr. Godbey mean that? I am not sure that he does.

All the evidence that Mr. Godbey brings only shows that Bēl returned early in the reign. If Šamašsumukin waited till the next Nisan before he took the hands of Bēl, though he had been nearly eleven months (perhaps twelve, if there was a second Adar) in Babylon, still Bēl would have come to Babylon in šattu rēš Šamašsumukin. In S¹ Šamašsumukin puts Bēl's return in his reign, ina palēšu, and says that Ezida had gone to ruin in the palē of the kings who preceded him, and that he renewed it ina palēa. Hence we cannot press palû to mean "first year," or even "beginning of reign." The wording in L⁵ is identical. In S³ Ašurbânipal says that Marduk had dwelt in Assyria ina palē of a former king, but ina ûmē palia entered Babylon. Therefore for him palû cannot mean "first year," or even "beginning of reign." When he says, L⁴, that it was ina maḥrē palia, he must mean in his "first year." Hence the return took place in the eponymy of Marlarim. If he narrates events in strict order, Šamašsumukin did take the hands of Bēl before he left Aššur, but that may be a desire to place the most important event first. Even granting that this was the case, it was not at the very beginning of Marlarim's eponymy, and hence his could not be the "first year" for Šamašsumukin. Where then I argue that Šamašsumukin's reign began a year later than Ašurbânipal's, I merely mean that, while the latter's first year coincided with the eponymy of Marlarim, the former's first was that of Gabbaru. Both were doubtless king before, as our Edward VII.'s accession took place some time after he was king.

My placing of Ašurmukinpalēa at Ḫarran was a slip due to a misreading of ADD., 1053. With all the deductions of Mr. Godbey's paper I agree, except where he would invalidate my chronology, or make Šamašsumukin an elder brother. I venture to

add a few remarks on the paper on "The *Ḳêpu*." I did not mean that every *ḳêpu* was a mere temple official; only that the temple *ḳêpu* had certain duties. I quite think that Mr. Godbey has shown that the *ḳêpu* discharged all the functions attributed to him, and I had already given him different titles according to the positions held by him. The term "steward" suits many of them very well. A magistrate is clearly unsuitable if we mean simply a judge, but I rather used the word as answering to magisterial powers, such as exacting dues and fixing rents. The preservation of law and order was not in my mind, but I freely admit the term was unfortunate.

Is it quite certain that all the ideograms given for *ḳêpu* really apply? With the great variety of meanings for TIL I rather hesitate to accept the meaning "one who prolongs life." Could not TIL.LA.GID.DA mean "him of the long rod," with reference to a wand of office, perhaps originally a measuring-rod? He was a rural rather than an urban official, as dealing with villages and farms rather than cities; what we mean by rural districts. Even when he ruled in a city his duties were rural rather than municipal. Mr. Godbey shows that. I am afraid that Br. 5752 was wrong in giving AL.LA.GID.DA as an ideogram for *ḳêpu*, the first sign is clearly LIL, not AL; see Delitzsch, *HWB.*, under *ḳêpu*. It is also to be noted that K. 4230, 19, *CT.*, XII, p. 42, gives IŠ.AL.KAK.AG.A as *maḥāṣu ša* Hence I take AL.KAK-a-am to be the same as AL.KAK-am in Bu. 91-5-9, 509, l. 8, and as AL.KAK in l. 10 of the same text where it is preceded by ŠE, *CT.*, VIII, p. 30. Consequently I think we are to read *aldu*, and *aldam* for the accusative in the Code. I agree that it implies "means for cultivation," but as it is coupled with corn, cattle, provender, it seems to me that "tools," or better "implements," is not too restricted. It may include wagons, as well as hoes, mattocks, plows, and perhaps watering-machines. I think the occurrence of *iṣu* before AL.DÀ in K. 4230 implies "wooden" instruments originally, but the term might be applied to similar instruments of metal, in later use.

With respect to ŠÁ.GAL, *ukullu*, it occurs in a list of amounts of corn served out for different classes of persons, female weavers, for the SAL *zikrum* (*cf.* Code, § 178, etc.), for the Sutean watchman of the corn-field (on the principle "set a thief to catch a thief"), for the boatmen, etc., Bu. 88-5-12, 247, l. 7

(*CT.*, VIII, 21). Hence I combined with the reference in the Code and concluded it must be food for the cattle, "provender," which Mr. Godbey approves. I also think it might include the food of the servants put at the occupier's disposal. He was perhaps a metayer tenant, or something like an English bailiff on a farm which the owner cannot let—a sort of caretaker.

In conclusion, I may be permitted to say that I have rarely read Assyriological papers which seemed so fair or gave me so much pleasure.

A LETTER OF ESARHADDON.

BY CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON,
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The text Bu. 91-5-9, 210, published in Harper's *Letters* (No. 403),¹ presents several points of interest. The pithy proverbs so appositely quoted (obv. ll. 4-7, 14-15), and its general tone of contemptuous sarcasm, give it a distinct individuality among Assyrian letters, and reveal something of the personal characteristics of the writer, who evidently possessed a certain grim sense of humor. It proceeds from a king of Assyria, unquestionably of the Sargonide dynasty, and is addressed to a people called the "non-Babylonians," which means, as shown by the context, that they have presumed to style themselves Babylonian citizens, although they possess no just claim to the name. They have, moreover, aggravated their offense by bringing lying accusations against the king's faithful servants,² and the king intimates that, though for the present they have crept into a warm nest, they may find it ere long altogether too warm for comfort. These allusions seem to leave little doubt as to the personality of the writer and the occasion by which the letter was called forth.

When Babylon was destroyed by Sennacherib in 689 B. C., its inhabitants were driven from their possessions and scattered throughout the country. The land about the city, thus left vacant, was promptly seized upon by the Chaldeans of Bit-Dakkuri, who appear to have occupied it unmolested during the remainder of Sennacherib's reign. Esarhaddon, however, completely reversed his father's policy in regard to Babylon. At the very beginning of his reign he undertook to rebuild the city, to gather its dispersed people, and to restore them to their former possessions, with all their ancient rights and privileges.³ This could hardly have been very welcome news to the interlopers from Bit-Dakkuri and their king, Šamaš-ibnī, who doubtless conceived themselves rather unjustly treated. With the destruction of Babylon and the exile of its inhabitants the latter had necessarily lost all their civil rights, and their land had thus become ownerless. The

¹ Part IV, pp. 420, 421.

² Presumably the real Babylonians.

³ Cf. *B.A.*, III, p. 252, ll. 18 sqq.

people of Bit-Dakkuri could hardly have taken possession of it without at least the tacit consent of Sennacherib, and they must have considered that their occupation of it for so long a time gave them a prescriptive right to it. If then Babylon was to be restored to its former position, it was fitting, they doubtless argued, that they themselves, as loyal subjects of Assyria, should reap the benefits of the fact, rather than the former rebels who had been expelled by Esarhaddon's father. It is hardly conceivable that they should have yielded up the lands without some sort of protest, and it is more than probable that, in any communication they may have addressed to the king upon the subject, they would assume for themselves the status of Babylonian citizens. From their own point of view they were justly entitled to advance such a claim, as the actual occupants of the land, and it is likely that they would enlarge upon their own loyalty and protest against the restoration of the former inhabitants, whom they would naturally represent as outlaws justly punished for their rebellion against Assyria. That their statement of the case against the exiled Babylonians may have been somewhat highly colored need excite no surprise.

To Esarhaddon, however, the matter wore a very different aspect. As the divinely appointed restorer of Babylon, his mission included the complete rehabilitation of the former inhabitants, and this could hardly be effected without dispossessing the Chaldean settlers. It was true that the wrath of Marduk had been kindled for a season against his people, but they had now sufficiently expiated their sin,⁴ and those who had taken advantage of their distress to seize upon their property must now be forced to disgorge their ill-gotten gains. Of course, back of all this lay well-defined motives of worldly policy. The ruthless destruction of the Holy City by Sennacherib and his profanation of its shrines had sent a thrill of horror through western Asia, and had added a large item to the long account against Assyria. The restoration of Babylon was an assurance of a milder policy, and doubtless tended to promote a better feeling throughout the empire. But more especially, Esarhaddon needed the support of the city as a bulwark against Elamite aggression. A new Babylon peopled by its former inhabitants who, relieved from a wretched exile, had every reason to bless the king as their deliverer, might well serve this purpose. But a new Babylon peopled largely by Chaldeans,

⁴ Cf. *BA.*, III, pp. 218-20, col. i, l. 7—col. ii, l. 18.

who had on many occasions shown themselves more friendly to Elam than to Assyria, was quite another matter. Under these circumstances the people of Bit-Dakkuri were likely to receive a rather curt reply to their remonstrances, and the sequel is told in the annals of Esarhaddon:

I ravaged the Chaldean territory of Bit-Dakkuri, the foe of Babylon. I captured Šamaš-ibni [their king], a wicked wretch who feared not the name of the lord of lords, but seized by force the lands of the people of Babylon and Borsippa, and converted them to his own use. Because I fear Bêl and Nabû I restored those lands to the people of Babylon and Borsippa and placed Nabû-sallim, son of Balasu, upon the throne⁵ as my vassal.⁶

The text under consideration harmonizes well with all the attending circumstances, and I believe that it is the answer sent by Esarhaddon to the remonstrances of the people of Bit-Dakkuri. The letter may be translated as follows:

TRANSLATION.

The word of the king to the self-styled Babylonians! It is well with me! There is a popular saying current, to this effect: "The potter's dog creeps into the oven; the potter makes up the fire." Behold! you have turned yourselves into Babylonians, although indeed it is not true (that you are such), and you have made against my servants lying accusations which you and your lord have concocted. There is also a saying current: "Madam Gay at the judge's door; Madam Judge to her pitcher." The tablet (full) of windy words and of your complaints(?) which you have sent, I have put back in its seals and send it to you. If you say "What answer does he make us?" (I reply): When I opened (your letter) and read (your words) that the "Babylonians my loving servants have sent" (I said)

TRANSLITERATION.

Obverse.

- 1 amât šarri
ana lâ ^{am}Bâbilâ!
Šulmu âši!
ina batti ša pî nišê šakin
5 umma: kalbu ša ^{am}paxâri
ina libbi utûni kî erubu
ana libbi ^{am}paxâru unampax.
enna! attunu, kî lâ kân-ma,
ramânkunu ana ^{am}Bâbilâ
10 tutterâ u dîbbê lâ dîbbê,

⁵ Of Bit-Dakkuri.

⁶ KB., II, p. 146, ll. 19 sqq.; cf. *ibid.*, p. 128, ll. 42 sqq.

- ša attunu u belkunu tetepuša
 ana muxxi ardānija šaknātunu.
 ina battīma ša pī šakin
 umma: ^{sal}xadītu ina bāb bit ^{am}da'āni;
 15 kašallaša aššatu ša da'an.
 duppu šārē u mexānātikunu
 ša tašpurāni, ina kunukkēša
 kī uteru, ultebilākunuši.
 mindēma taqābā
 20 umma: minā uteranaši
 ultu ^{am}Bābilā

Reverse.

ardānija u ra'imānija
 išparūni, kī aptū, altāši:
 enna! ṭābat ina reti iḡḡurē xiddi
 ša

NOTES.

Obverse.

L. 2. lā Bābilā, literally "the not Babylonians;" *cf.* obv. ll. 8, 9.

L. 3. The omission of the usual formula of greeting libbakunu lū ṭābkunuši, or its equivalent, is of course intentional and marks the contemptuous tone of the letter.

L. 4. ina batti "round about," "in circulation;" see below, l. 13, and *cf.* ina batti annīti, K. 1189 (= Harper's *Letters* No. 103), rev. 10. The reduplicated form battibatti is more common; *cf.* Del., *HW.*, 192*b*.

Ll. 5-7. Literally "when the potter's dog has entered the oven, the potter makes up the fire therein." The sense of the proverb is that those who place themselves in situations where they have no business to be may find the consequences unpleasant. The application is clear.

L. 8. kī lā kân-ma. For kânu in this meaning compare Del., *HW.*, 321*b*.

L. 10. dibbē lā dibbē, literally "words (which are) no words," *i. e.*, false, lying words. The same expression occurs in K. 625 (= Harper's *Letters* No. 131), rev. ll. 7, 8.

L. 11. belkunu, *i. e.*, Šamaš-ibnī.

L. 14. ^{sal}xadītu, literally "the gay lady;" *cf.* the French *fille de joie*.

L. 15. kašalla "pitcher." In V R. 42, 10, KA.ŠAL.LA occurs in a list of vessels with the determinative DUK = karpātu. It seems to mean "the wide-mouthed vessel," and KA.DAGAL.LA immediately follows. For ŠAL = rapāšu, *cf.* Del., *HW.*, 422*a*, 626*a*. The meaning and application are the same as in the proverb cited above (ll. 5-7). If the "gay lady" ensnares the judge and undertakes to invade his home, his legitimate spouse is likely to repulse the intruder by drenching her

with water. The grave character of the judge lends special point to the proverb, which may be based upon some popular story.

L. 16. This line presents some difficulty. I have taken IM.MEŠ = šârê as meaning "windy, empty words." mexânâti is perhaps to be connected with mexû "storm," and in this case would properly mean "howlings" or something similar.

L. 17. kunukkêša. I take kunukkê as meaning the clay envelope, impressed with seals, in which Assyrian tablets were sometimes incased.

L. 21. ultu is here a conjunction, "when, as soon as."

Reverse.

L. 2. išparûni "they have sent." Beside the usual preterite išpur, šapâru also forms a preterite išpar. The following examples are to be found in Harper's *Letters*: ašpar, No. 342, rev. 19; išparûnišu, No. 158, 21; lišparûni, Nos. 170, rev. 16; 196, 18; 388, rev. 2; 414, 19.

altâši = altâsî, from šasû; for the occurrence of š instead of s in Assyrian texts cf. Del., *Gram.*, § 46. The construction is ultu . . . , kî aptû, altâši "when, having opened (your letter), I read (your words)." I take the clause ^{am}Bâbilâ—išparûni as the object of altâši, and regard it as a quotation from the letter addressed to the king by the people of Bît-Dakkuri.

L. 3. I have thought it best to leave this line untranslated, as the context is obscured by the obliteration of the remainder of the text.

ZU DEM BERICHTE ÜBER DIE NIEDERLAGE DER TURKOMANEN BEI KAIRO.

VON SAMUEL POZNANSKI,
Warschau.

Dieser Bericht, den Greenstone nach einer Handschrift der Geniza edirt hat, ist sowohl in sachlicher, als auch in formaler Hinsicht von ausserordentlichem Interesse. Es ist dies zunächst, wie der Herausgeber richtig bemerkt, eins der wenigen hebräischen poetischen Erzeugnisse, das ein Ereignis profaner Geschichte besingt, und dann zeigt es von Neuem, dass die Pajtanim auch in Egypten heimisch waren und hier Nachahmer fanden. Allerdings lassen sich Spuren synagogaler Poesieen in Egypten schon im VIII. Jahrhundert nachweisen;¹ ebenso hat vielleicht Saadja Gaon manche seiner Hymnen noch in seinem Vaterlande, am Nil, im ersten Viertel des X. Jahrhundert, verfasst, aber doch erhalten wir erst hier zum ersten Mal ein Poem, das ganz im Stile des Pijut gehalten ist.

Mehr aber noch als Form und Inhalt interessirt uns der Verfasser, שלמה הוא הכהן בן יהוסף נין גאונים, "Salomo ha-Kohen ben Josef, ein Enkel der Geonim," den nun Greenstone ganz richtig aus der Familie der palästinensischen Geonim stammen lässt. Dass nun dieser Salomo, der in seiner Eigenschaft als Mitglied des Gerichtshofes des Exilarchen David b. Daniel in Fostât im Jahre 1092 ein Dokument als יוסף ביר' שלמה הכהן ב"ל unterzeichnet, zu dieser Familie gehört, habe ich bereits in meiner Abhandlung über Efraïm ben Schemarja vermutet.² Wahrscheinlich aber scheint mir eine weitere Vermutung Greenstone's zu sein, dass unser Salomo ein Sohn des von Daniel b. Azarja verdrängten Josef gewesen, und dass er mithin ein Enkel des Salomo b. Jehuda, des ersten Gaon Palästinas gewesen. In der That scheint dieser Josef niemals das Amt eines Gaon bekleidet zu haben, musste sich mit der Rolle eines אב בית דין neben Daniel begnügen und wird überhaupt nur eine untergeordnete Rolle gespielt haben. Greenstone erwähnt ein Geniza-Fragment im Besitze D. W. Amram's, in dem nur Salomo und sein Sohn Elia als Geonim figuriren, Josef dagegen nur als אב בית דין של כל ישראל genannt wird. Nun habe auch ich inzwischen ein ähnliches Geniza-Fragment aus dem

¹ Vgl. Steinschneider, *Zeitschrift für Egypt. Sprache*, 1879, pp. 93-96; *Magazin für d. Wissenschaft d. Judenthums*, 1879, pp. 250-54.

² *Revue des études juives*, XLVIII, p. 166, n. 3.

British Museum edirt,³ in dem unser Josef überhaupt nicht angeführt wird, und auch in der sogenannten Ebiatar-Megillo wird eigentlich nicht ausdrücklich angegeben, dass Josef seinem Vater Salomo in Gaonat gefolgt sei.⁴ Ich glaube aber auch noch einen positiven Beweis erbringen zu können, dass Salomo, der Verfasser des von Greenstone edirten Poems, ein Sohn Josef's **אב בית דין** und ein Enkel Salomo Gaons gewesen ist. In der interessanten Ketuba über die Heirat des genannten Exilarchen David b. Daniel mit einer Karäerin aus dem Jahre 1081 befindet sich unter den Zeugen auch ein **אב בית דין של כל ישראל נין** **שלמה גאון ז"ל**.⁵ Da nun, wie aus dem Geniza-Fragment des Herrn Amram sich ergibt, Josef auch als **אב בית דין של כל ישראל** bezeichnet wird, so unterliegt es keinem Zweifel, dass der obige Zeugenname in **אב בית דין של** [**שלמה הכהן ביר' יוסף**] zu ergänzen, und dass darunter unser Autor zu verstehen ist.⁶

Greenstone nimmt also meiner Meinung ganz richtig an, dass Josef wahrscheinlich nicht alt gestorben, dass sein Sohn Salomo bei dem Tode des Vaters noch sehr jung gewesen ist, und dass das Gaonat infolge dessen nach dem Tode Daniel b. Azarja's im Jahre 1062 auf Elia, den Bruder Josef's, übergegangen ist. Salomo dagegen muss dann nach Egypten ausgewandert sein, wo er im Jahre 1077 unser Poem verfasst, im Jahre 1081 die genannte Ketuba unterzeichnet und im Jahre 1092 als Mitglied des Gerichtshofes des David b. Daniel funktioniert hat. Dass er Anschluss an David gesucht hat, trotzdem sein Vater Josef von Daniel, dem Vater David's, vom Gaonat verdrängt wurde, soll uns weiter nicht wundern, da Josef sich mit seiner Lage ausgesöhnt zu haben scheint. Salomo aber muss in Egypten eine immer ansehnlichere Rolle gespielt haben, denn wir finden ihn dann als **ראש ישיבה**, als Schulhaupt, in Fostât.⁷ Ueberhaupt war der Verkehr zwischen der palästinensischen Geonim-Familie und Fostât ein sehr reger, und wir finden hier mehrere Nachkommen dieser Familie auch im XII. Jahrhundert, nach Aufhören des palästinensischen Gaonats, wo man ihnen zu Ehren Verzeichnisse der verstorbenen Mitglieder angelegt hat.⁸

³ *Revue des études juives*, LI, pp. 52 sqq.

⁴ S. *ibid.*, p. 54, u. 3.

⁵ S. *JQR.*, XIII, p. 221, und *RÉJ.*, XLVIII, *loc. cit.*

⁶ Einer wenn auch unbedeutender Beweis für die Zugehörigkeit unseres Salomo zu der Geonim-Familie kann vielleicht auch die Schreibung **יהוסף** sein, die auch sonst bei dieser Familie vorkommt.

⁷ Vgl. *JQR.*, XVIII, p. 14, u. *RÉJ.*, LI, p. 57 (wo aber irrtümlich der Titel **אב הישיבה** auf Salomo, anstatt auf seinen Vater Josef, bezogen wird; der Titel **ראש הישיבה** aber kann sich nur auf Salomo beziehen, da Josef, wie sich aus den bisherigen Darlegungen ergibt, nie Schulhaupt gewesen).

⁸ Vgl. *RÉJ.*, LI, p. 55.

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THE ETYMOLOGY OF MOHEL, CIRCUMCISER.¹

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Circumcision² is practiced by about 200 millions, *i. e.* nearly one-eighth of the entire population of the world, the aggregate number of all the inhabitants of our planet amounting to about 1520 millions. This ancient rite is still observed, not only by the Jews and the Mohammedans, but also by a great many African tribes, Australians, certain Malay and some American Indian tribes. In the Temple legend explaining the origin of circumcision, which we find in the fifth chapter of the Book of Joshua, enlarged by a number of successive harmonizing additions,³ the oldest stratum,⁴ *i. e.* the Judaic document (about 850 B. C.) states: At that time JHVH said to Joshua: Make thee stone-knives, and circumcise the Israelites; and Joshua made him stone-knives, and circumcised the Israelites at the Hill of the Foreskins. After the whole population had been circumcised, they remained there in camp till they were healed. JHVH said to Joshua: This day have I rolled off from you the reproach of Egypt; and the name of that place was called Gilgal and so remains to this day.³

Among certain Polynesian and African tribes circumcision is, as a rule, performed in a special locality, and the circumcised are kept apart from the rest of the tribe before and after the operation. In the same way it would seem that the ancient Israelites, at least the tribe of Benjamin or some of its clans, performed the

rite of circumcision (which probably marked the initiation into manhood and the acquirement of the full rights of citizenship) at the ancient sanctuary of Gilgal, and the circumcised remained there till they were healed. The foreskins were buried there;⁵ hence the name Hill of the Foreskins.

The employment of a stone-knife for the purpose of circumcision represents a survival of the stone age, just as the use of the primitive ram's horn (Heb. *shofár*) in the service of the modern synagogue is the continuation of an ancient usage. The Egyptians performed circumcision with stone-knives. In Egypt circumcision was regarded as a mark of civilization, just as shaving in Rome from the time of Scipio Africanus (about 200 B. C.) to the time of Hadrian (about 100 A. D.) the *barba promissa* being, among the upper classes, a sign of mourning. By the institution of circumcision at Gilgal the *reproach of Egypt* (that the Israelites were unclean,⁶ because uncircumcised) was *rolled away*. The expression גָּלוּתִי *gallôthi* *I have rolled away* represents a popular etymology of the name Gilgal, just as the explanation of the name Babel as meaning *confusion* in the legend of the Tower of Babel⁷ or the derivation of the name Purim in the Book of Esther from a word *pûr lot*.⁸ Gilgal does not mean *rolling off*, but it is a reduplicated form of *gal stone-heap*. Numerous cromlechs are still found in Palestine, especially in the region east of the Jordan.

In the ancient legend Exod. 4, 24-26, which is derived from the old Judaic document, we read that JHVH came upon Moses at the halting-place and sought to kill him; but Zipporah took a flint, cut off the foreskin of her son, and touched therewith Moses'⁹ *membrum virile*, saying: Now thou art a 'bloody bridegroom.' Young men were originally circumcised prior to their marriage. The circumcision of infants is a later substitution for the more severe and more dangerous operation at the age of puberty. The Hebrew term for *bridegroom*, חַתָּן *xathân* means originally *circumcised*, and the word for *father-in-law*, Heb. חוּתָּן *xothén*: *circumciser*.¹⁰

The modern Hebrew term for *circumciser* is מוֹחֵל *mohél*. The post-Biblical verb מָחַל *mahál*¹¹ is a secondary modification of the Biblical verb מָחַל *mûl*¹² *to circumcise*,¹³ which is a denominative verb derived from מוֹל *môl* *front* = *mâl* = *ma'âl*,¹⁴ from אָחַל *to be in front*:¹⁵ cf. Arab. أَحَالَ *âḥḥalu* *first*.¹⁶ Thus מוֹחֵל *mohél*

mohél *circumciser*, אֵיל *ail*¹⁷ *ram*, and אֶתְמוֹל *ethmól yesterday* go back to the same root. The verb בָּרַל *to circumcise* is a privative denominative (cf. our *to skin* an animal, *to stow* raisins, *to sprout* potatoes, *to bone* a ham, *to worm* a dog, &c.) meaning *to remove the front*, i. e. to cut off the foreskin, the hood of skin covering the head of the *membrum virile*; cf. our *to cap* = to deprive of the cap and the German *kappen* = French *étêter*; also *to crop* = to take off the *crop* (i. e. top, head) of a plant. Heb. אֵיל *ail*¹⁷ denotes the ram as the *leader* of the flock, German *Leithammel* = bell-wether. Heb. אֶתְמוֹל *ethmól* = Syr. ܐܬܡܠܐ¹⁸ = Assy. itimāli (for ittimāli, intimāli) = ina timāli;¹⁹ cf. Assy. immatīma (Syr. ܐܬܡܬܝܡܐ)²⁰ for ina matīma; issurri for ina surri *at the moment* (HW 435. 512); iššāššūmi¹⁹ = ina šālši ūmi = Heb. שִׁלְשׁוֹם *šilšôm* (for the quiescing of the *l* cf. our *half, palm, calf*, &c.). The *s* in אֶתְמוֹל is not prosthetic, as in אֶזְרִי for דִּרְאִי *dirā' arm*, but a remnant of the preposition

ina which is preserved also in Ethiopic አንሀ: ĕnzá = Heb. בָּזָה,²¹ አንበላ: ĕnbála = בִּבְלִי; cf. below, p. 259, l. 20. In Syr. ܐܬܡܠܐ²² (ܐܬܡܠܐ) *last year*, on the other hand, which is a compound of ܐܬܡܠܐ *year*²² and ܦܪܝܢܐ *past* (cf. Arab. ʾāman ānuḡala *last year*) the *s* is prosthetic, just as in ܐܬܡܠܐ *he drank*, &c.²³ For ܠܥܬܡܠܐ²⁴ *next year* (lit. *for the reviced*, part. pass. Aphel of ܠܡܠܐ; see Crit. Notes on Daniel, SBOT, p. 28, l. 14) cf. Heb. פֶּתַח הַיָּרֵךְ Gen. 18. 10. 14; 2 K 4, 16. 𐤒 renders in Gen. 18. 10. 14 correctly *eis ōpas*, i. e. *next year* (Plut. *Pericl.* 13); in 2 K 4, 16: ὥς ἡ ὥρα ζῶσα; but 𐤒 has in Gen. 18. 10. 14: *vita comile*, and in 2 K 4, 16: *si vita comes fuerit*.

Assyr. timālu means originally *front*, then *past*, just as Assy. maxru and Heb. קֵדָם mean *front* and *past*, while Assy. arkatu = יֵרֵכָה, Heb. אֶחָרִית, Eth. ፩፡፪፡፫: dēxr mean *back* and *future*.²⁵ The final *m* in Eth. ፩፡፪፡፫: tēmālēm is a remnant of יוֹם *iôm day*, just as Heb. שִׁלְשׁוֹם *šilšôm* is a compound of יוֹם *day* and שָׁלֹשׁ *three*. Assy. ina šālši ūmi or contracted: iššāššūmi;¹⁹ cf. above, l. 13.

While תְּמוֹל *tēmól yesterday* means originally *front* in the sense of *past*, אֵיל *ail*¹⁷ *ram* means 'fronter' in the sense of *leader*, and מוֹהֵל *mohél circumciser*: 'fronter' in the privative sense of removing the front, i. e. cutting off the foreskin.

Notes.

(1) Presented at the meeting of the American Oriental Society, April 18, 1906.

(2) Cf. H. H. Ploss, *Geschichtliches und Ethnologisches über Knabenbeschneidung* (Leipzig, 1885); W. Ebstein, *Die Medizin im Alten Testament* (Stuttgart, 1901) pp. 152-157; Carl Alexander, *Die hygienische Bedeutung der Beschneidung* (Breslau, 1902).

(3) See the translation of *Joshua* in the Polychrome Bible (New York, 1899) p. 7 and the explanatory notes on pp. 61. 62.

(4) See Joh. Hollenberg in *Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, 1874, pp. 493 ff.; Stade, ZAT 6, 133.

(5) The Wakikuyu bury the foreskins; the circumciser digs holes in the ground with a pointed stick, and then the foreskins are buried in front of the circumcised; see ZAT 6, 140.

(6) Cf. Gen. 43, 32; Herod. 2, 41. Arab. طاهر *tâhara* to circumcise means originally to cleanse, to purify (ZAT 6, 134, n. 1). In the Old Testament, circumcision symbolizes purification, and ערלה *'orlâh* (plur. ערלות = Assyr. *urulâti*; cf. HW 533^b, below) is synonymous with impurity and imperfection.

(7) Cf. Stade, *Reden und Abhandlungen* (Giessen, 1899) pp. 274-280.

(8) See my address on Purim in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. 25 (1906) part 1.

(9) According to Eduard Meyer's suggestive paper *Die Mosesagen und die Lewiten* (Berlin, 1905) p. 5 (Proceedings of the Royal Academy of Berlin, June 22, 1905) the suffix in לַרְגְּלָיו *to his feet*, which is a euphemism for *membrum virile*, refers, not to Moses, but to יהוה; this interpretation, however, seems to me impossible. יהוה is wroth, because Moses had not been circumcised before his marriage. Zipporah touches Moses' *membrum* with the bloody foreskin of her son, so that Moses looks as though he had just been circumcised, like a 'bloody bridegroom.' יהוה is deceived by Zipporah's stratagem and forbears to slay Moses for the non-observance of the prescribed tribal rite.

(10) See my remarks in vol. 3 of this JOURNAL (January, 1887) p. 108, n. 4.

(11) The term מְהוּל (Is. 1, 22) in Isaiah's preaching of repentance during Sennacherib's invasion (B. C. 701) is not connected with the post-Biblical מְהוּל to circumcise. The meaning *vinum castratum* (Duhm, Marti, Ges.-Buhl¹⁴)* is impossible. Castration and circumcision are two very different operations, and circumcision cannot symbolize deterioration; see above, n. 6. Barth's combination of מְהוּל with the Talmudic מוּהַל, which has been adopted by Nöldeke and Cheyne, is preferable. But we must not read מוּהַל (Cheyne: *thick juice*) instead of מְהוּל, or בְּלוּל, following מִשְׁרַב בְּמֵיָא טַ, *mixtum est aqua* (ἡ οἱ κάπηλοί σου μίσγουνσι τὸν οἶνον سقاهم سقاهم سقاهم); מְהוּל is

*Hitzig, *Die prophetischen Bücher des AT* (Leipzig, 1854) p. 2, translated: *Dein Silber ist Schlacke geworden, dein Wein entmannt durch Wasser.*

an explanatory gloss. מוהל means *dreggish, feculent, ropy, amurcous*;* cf. Lat. *amurca* (or *amurga* = ἀμόργη) and our *marc* (= French *marc de raisins, marc de café*) i. e. the refuse matter which remains after the pressing of wine, fruit, &c. (German *Trester, Treber; Wein-trester, Oliventrester, &c.*). The primitive meaning of מוהל is *sedimental*, from מהל (Syr. ܡܗܠ) to *subside* = נהל to *rest*; see above, p. 199. The Talmudic term מוהל (also מוהל)** means especially *crude olive oil* before it is separated from the water and the settlings (dregs of olives, marc; Syr. ܡܗܠ, † modern Greek μούχλα). It is also used of the fluid (not pus!) which runs from a putrescent corpse (so, too, Arab. مهل muhl, &c.). For the connection of Syr. ܡܗܠ with مهل and נהל cf. the use of the reflexive stem ܡܗܠ ithbēhīl min in the sense of *having peace from, being no longer harrassed by*; see the discussion of the phrase מוהלם מוהלם 2 Chr. 32, 22 in § 7 of my paper on נהל to rest (above, p. 197).

(12) See my remarks in this JOURNAL, vol. 20, p. 171, l. 8.

(13) מוהלם in ψ 118 means *I shall make them circumcise*, i. e. we shall force them to (embrace Judaism and) submit to circumcision. We might say *we will trim them* (German *zurechtstutzen*). Antiochus Epiphanes (175–164 B. c.) had prohibited this rite (1 Macc. 1, 48) but the Maccabean prince Johns Hyrcanus (135–104 B. c.) and his son and successor Aristobulus whose coronation is glorified in ψ 2 (see this JOURNAL, vol. 21, p. 139, l. 3) imposed circumcision upon the Idumeans and the Itureans (i. e. the inhabitants of Northern Galilee); see Jos. Ant. xiii, 9, 1; 11, 3. Psalm 118 was written in 142 B. c. (AJSL 20, 170, n. 55; 21, 145, n. 43).

(14) According to Lagarde, *Probe einer neuen Ausgabe der lateinischen Übersetzungen des Alten Testaments* (Göttingen, 1885) p. 48 מוהל stands for māl = má'al = מוהל phallus, from מוהל, just as we have מוהל = מוהל, מוהל = מוהל, &c.† The verb מוהל means *to make oath*, so that מוהל or מוהל, according to Lagarde's explanation, would mean *place or instrument of making oath* (cf. שויםנא ירך תחת ירכי Gen. 24, 2; 47, 29). This derivation is impossible.

(15) See my paper *Zur assyrischen Nominallehre in Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. 1, p. 172^b. Just as מוהל to circumcise is a denomina-

*In Germany ropy wine is called *lang, zäh, weich, ölig, schleimig, fadig*. The Latin term is *vinum feculentum*. Cf. my paper cited below, p. 260, at the end of n. 3.

**Cf. Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, p. 59.

†Syr. ܡܗܠ is pronounced مُغَلَا, with غ for خ = ه; cf. Assy. raggu evil = Heb. רע; Eth. ጸጸጸ : baql mule for باغل baḡl, ረጸጸጸ : rēxba to hunger = رغب rāḡiba = رعب; Assy. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 small = صغير ṣaḡīr = צעיר; see KAT², 515, l. 6; GGN, Ap. 25, 1883, p. 93, n. 7; Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 175, n. †.

‡Cf. also מוהל for מוהל, מוהל for מוהל; contrast Crit. Notes on Leviticus (SBOT) p. 30, l. 39. See also below, p. 261, n. 18.

tive verb based on $\text{בִּי־אֹרֶל} = \text{בִּי־לֶחֶם}$, a derivative of אֹרֶל , so the Arabic verb $\text{مَانَ} \text{ māna}$ *to provision* is derived from $\text{مَوْنَة} \text{ mūne} = \text{مَوْنُونَة}$ *ma'ūne provisions*, a derivative of أَوْحَى . This Arabic stem means *to be comfortable, to rest* ($\text{أَوْحَى} \text{ ʾawḥā}$ *أَوْحَى إِذَا رَفَقَ*) so $\text{مَوْنُونَة} \text{ maw'nūne}$ (or $\text{مَوْنَة} \text{ mūne}$) means originally *refreshments*; cf. § 6 of my paper on נָחַל *to rest* (above, p. 196). The verb מָנָה corresponds to our colloquial *to refresh* = to lay in a fresh stock of provisions. To *refresh* means also *to restore vigor*, give new strength. Heb. נָחַץ therefore means *vigor, virility*; it means also *wealth*, i. e. *comfortable, easy circumstances* (Arab. $\text{أَوْحَى} \text{ ʾawḥā}$). For the contraction of $\text{مَوْنُونَة} \text{ ma'ūne}$ to $\text{مَوْنَة} \text{ mūne}$ cf. בִּי־אֹרֶל for בִּי־לֶחֶם ; see Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 201, l. 25. The $\text{וְ$ in בִּי־אֹרֶל is the conjunction *and*; cf. וְאֵלֶּיךָ for וְאֵלֶּיךָ ; see AJSL 19, 9; Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 118, l. 1.

On p. 81 of my paper cited below, p. 260, n. 8, I have pointed out that Arab. $\text{مَانَة} \text{ mā'ne}$ *umbilical or hypochondriac region, peritoneal fat* is identical with Assyr. mūnu (written *munnu*) and Syr. $\text{ܡܢܢܐ} \text{ mānā}$ *internal organs, bowels*. Aram. $\text{מָנָה} \text{ mā'nā} = \text{מָנָה}$, stem מָנָה ; cf. Heb. אֵוֶן *vessel = ship*; Assyr. unūtu , pl. unāti , *implements*. The Arabic verb $\text{مَانَ} \text{ mā'ana}$ *to hit in the umbilical &c. region* is, of course, a denominative verb just as $\text{מָנָה} \text{ māna}$ *to provision*. Arab. $\text{مَدَنَة} \text{ ma'inne}$ *sure sign* means originally *haruspication*.

Another denominative verb derived from a noun with prefixed *m* is Arab. $\text{مَثَنَ} \text{ māthina}$ *to have an affection of the bladder* (incontinence of urine, &c.) from $\text{مَثَانَة} \text{ mathāne}$ *bladder*, lit. *place or organ of urinating* (stem مَثَنَ). For בִּשְׁחָץ בָּקֵר , which should be pointed בִּשְׁחָץ בָּקֵר (so Simonis, 1757; cf. Geiger, *Urschrift*, p. 410) see Crit. Notes on Kings, p. 166, l. 31. The Hithpael means *to relieve oneself of urine*. Heb. בִּשְׁחָץ בָּקֵר is an expression like the German *Hosenscheisser* = a small boy;† it denotes *a little boy* (RV *man child*: but AV *that pisseth against the wall*) who urinates in this indecorous manner instead of *covering his feet* (i. e. squatting on his heels, sitting close to the ground), as a grown up person would do. Herod. 2. 35 says of the Egyptians: $\text{οὐρῶνσι αἱ μὲν γυναικες ὀρθαί, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες κατήμειοι}$. The correct explanation that בִּשְׁחָץ בָּקֵר denotes a small boy, was given

* The stem means also *to be uncomfortable*; cf. Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 270, l. 30. The noun $\text{مَوْنُونَة} \text{ ma'ūne}$ means therefore also *discomfort, trouble* (like Heb. $\text{אַוּנָה} \text{ ʾūnā}$, syn. עֲמָל) e. g. in the Paris edition of the Travels of Ibn Batūtah, vol. 2. p. 399; $\text{لِعَظَمِ الْمَوْنَةِ}$ *li'īẓam el-mū'nē* (or better *ma'ūne*) *owing to the great trouble* (involved) in it. Arab. $\text{نَحَاحَة} \text{ nahāḥe}$ means both *liberality* and *stinginess*. The Biblical name *Noah* may be connected with this word; cf. n. 23 of my paper cited in n. 8.

† In some parts of Germany the term *Schisser* is used in the same way, and the people who use it are entirely unconscious of the real meaning of the word, just as we do not hesitate to use the word *shyster* or the verb *to cheat* (= French *chier*); see my paper cited below, p. 260, at the end of n. 3.

by Louis de Dieu, of Leyden (1590-1642); see also the seventh edition (Leipzig, 1868) p. 905 of Gesenius' Heb. lexicon, edited by Dietrich; contrast edd. 11-14. \mathfrak{E} renders: $\sigma\upsilon\rho\omega\nu\ \pi\rho\acute{o}s\ \tau\omicron\iota\chi\omicron\nu$, \mathfrak{I} *mingens ad parietem*; but \mathfrak{E} יָדַע בִּידָע , i. e. *sexually mature, male adult*, בִּידָע = *sexual intercourse*; cf. Assyr. lamādu in Harper's *Code of Hammurabi* (Chicago, 1904) p. 54, ll. 69. 75. 6. \mathfrak{S} has ܠܐܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐ in 1 Kings 14, 10; 16, 10; 21, 21 (cf. *Gregorii Barhebraei gesta* in Røediger's *Chrestomathia Syriaca*, third edition, Halle, 1892, p. 48, l. 10) but in 1 S 25, 22. 34 we find ܠܐܝܢܐ , which may be a corruption of ܠܐܝܢܐ , ܠܐܝܢܐ . The Ethpeel of ܠܐܝܢܐ is ܠܐܝܢܐ , but cf. $\text{ܠܐܝܢܐ} = \text{ܠܐܝܢܐ}$ &c. Jensen, KB 6, 140, l. 7 explains uš-tin (NE 14, 7) as a transitive(!) Ifta'al of ܠܐܝܢܐ (= *to be piss*). This is just as impossible as his idea (l. c. p. 436) that ܠܐܝܢܐ in ܠܐܝܢܐ is an Assyrian loanword.

(16) Some derive ܐܝܢܐ *auṣṣalu* from ܐܝܢܐ , *uā'ala* (*auṣṣalu* = *au'alu*); see Wright-De Goeje, vol. 1, p. 260, B. Cf. Heb. הוֹאִיל *to accept, be willing, undertake, resolve*, lit. *to front, to face*; in the same way Assyr. *maxāru* means *to front, to encounter, and to receive, to accept*; cf. Arab. قَبِلَ *qūbul front* and قَبِلَ *qābila to accept*. Heb. הוֹאִיל , however, may be derived from הוֹאִיל , just as we have הוֹבִישׁ from הוֹבִישׁ . The stem ܐܝܢܐ , *uā'ala* means *to flee, escape, take refuge*. It is more natural to assume that ܐܝܢܐ *auṣṣalu* stands for *ā'uālu*.

(17) For the monosyllabic pronunciation *aīl* (like our *aisle*, German *eil*) not *áyil*, see *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 163, p. 70^b; Sievers, *Metrische Studien* (Leipzig, 1901) pp. 232-286; contrast ZDMG 58, 523.

(18) Also ܐܝܢܐ and ܐܝܢܐ , ܐܝܢܐ (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*², § 155. B). The final ܐ (which is silent; cf. Nöldeke², § 50, A, 5; Brockelmann², § 33) represents the old genitive ending, dependent on the prefixed preposition in = Eth. en in *ën-zá* and *ën-bála*. Syr. ܐܝܢܐ is more frequent than ܐܝܢܐ . Note Marc 5, 41: ταλιθα κουμ , var. κουμ ; see vol. 1 of this JOURNAL, p. 106, and vol. 20, p. 159 (*ad* Exod. 15, 2).

(19) Cf. ZA 11, 352; 14, 346; 17, 389.

(20) The final ܐ is silent; cf. above, n. 18.

(21) Instead of *ën-zá* we find in Ethiopic also *ba-zá*; see Dillmann's grammar, second edition, p. 371, 9. *En-zá* means also *in spite of this, although*; cf. Heb. בּוֹזֵת *bē-zōth* Lev. 26, 27; ψ 27, 3. See Dillm.², p. 371, l. 3 (contrast *ibid.* p. 427, below). Heb. וְבִזָּה *u-vazē* Est. 2, 13 may mean *and then* (\mathfrak{E} καὶ τότε) = Eth. *ëm-zé* (Ges.-Buhl¹⁴, *alsdann; andere: wann* (or *and thus, in this condition*, i. e. after having been treated with cosmetics for twelve months. But וְבִזָּה *u-vë-khén* Est. 4, 16 (\mathfrak{E} καὶ τότε) = does not mean *then* (Ges.-Buhl¹⁴, *so, so dann*) but *thus*, i. e. after having fasted for three days and three nights; so, too, Eccl. 8, 10, although \mathfrak{E} has again καὶ τότε ; see my translation of Ecclesiastes (Baltimore, 1905) p. 14.

(22) Heb. שנה *year*, Assy. šattu (for šantu) means originally a *change* (of seasons) = a full round of seasons, i. e. the tropical year, the interval between one vernal equinox and the next. For the connection of שנה *year* with the name of the Moon-god, שֶׁן (ZA 7, 177, n. 1) and the Assy. word for *female*, sinništu (for šin-niš, i. e. *month* + *sick*) see Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 270, l. 24.* Šin *moon* (i. e. originally a *change of the moon*, the beginning of a new monthly revolution) is a biconsonantal noun like ilu *god*, idu *hand*, išu *existence*; while šattu is a biconsonantal feminine like amtu *handmaid*, qaštu *bow*, šaptu *lip*. Assy. šattu (= šantu) means *year*; šittu (= šintu) *sleep*, šuttu (= šuntu) *dream*; the meaning of šettu (S^b 146) is uncertain (fem. of šedu?).† Cf. nāru *river*, niru *yoke*, nāru *light*, neru = 600; šāru *wind*, šīru *flesh*, šūru *bull*, šeru (שחר) *morning*; see vol. 1 of this JOURNAL, p. 178, n. 3.

(23) See Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*², § 51; Brockelmann², § 70; cf. Heb. שְׁתַּיִם šṭáim for אַשְׁתַּיִם (Ges.-Kautzsch²⁷, § 97, b, n. 1).

(24) Also حَسَب and حَسَب (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*², § 155, B).

(25) See my *Sumerische Familiengesetze* (Leipzig, 1879) p. 15, n. 3.

*Assyr. šin *moon* seems to be the first part of Arab. سنار sinimmār *moon*, &c. If the word were ultimately Babylonian, we might combine the second part with Assy. amāru *to see* = Ethiopic ammāra *to show*. This stem appears in Arab. إمارة imāra and تَمَور tu'mār *sign, way-mark*. In Jer. 31, 21:

הַצִּיבִי לָךְ צִנְזִים שְׂמִי לָךְ תַּמְרוֹרִים
שְׁתִּי לְבָבְךָ לַמִּסְלָה דֶּרֶךְ הַלְכַתִּי שִׁיבִי

we must read תַּמְרוֹרִים instead of תַּמְרוֹרִים; the second ר is due to dittography; for ר = ר ef. AJSL 20, 158, l. 8 from the bottom. Ἐ ταμωρίαν read תַּמְרוֹרִים (from מֹרֶר); see Cornill, *Das Buch Jeremia* (Leipzig, 1905) p. 340. This תַּמְרוֹרִים *way-marks, guide-posts*, however, must not be combined with תַּמְרֵי *palm*; it is a derivative of אָמַר, just as תַּיִמְרוֹת עֵשֶׂן see my remarks on Cant. 3, 6 (AJSL 19, 1). Instead of תַּיִמְרוֹת we must point תַּיִמְרוֹת = תַּמְרוֹת (cf. חִיצוֹן, רֹאשׁוֹן, חוּצוֹן for רֹאשׁוֹן, חִיצוֹן) and תַּמְרוֹת stands for תַּמְרוֹת (ZA 3, 60, n. 1) = ta'murāti; cf. מֹסְרֹת for מַאֲסֹרֹת = ma'sirāti. For תַּמֵּר in the interpolation Jer. 10, 5 point תַּמֵּר, and for תַּמֵּר in the post-Exilic addition Jud. 4, 5: תַּמֵּר. Assy. temēru (HW 710, below) may stand for ta'māru. For חוּצוֹן = חִיצוֹן see Beiträge zur Assyriologie, vol. 2, p. 362, n. †; cf. Ges.-Kautzsch, § 27, w.

†See JAOS 24, 289, l. 3. The word may be identical with šittu = šuttatu, from šatātu *to be narrow, oppressed*.

SEMITIC VERBS DERIVED FROM PARTICLES.¹

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In note 25 to my paper on the Hebrew stem *nahál* to rest, published in the April (1906) number of the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, I have illustrated the formation of Semitic triconsonantal stems from biconsonantal roots by discussing some of the verbs based on the root כלל to hold, from which *e. g.* the three words כללה kalláh bride, כליה kiliáh kidney, and כלאים kil'áim² two are derived. The new, fourteenth edition of Gesenius' Hebrew lexicon (1905) states that the etymology of these terms is obscure; but kalláh bride denotes a girl who is held, i. e. tied, pledged, engaged, betrothed, affianced,³ just as our word bride is connected with bride = bridle; cf. the French phrase *brider quelqu'un par un contrat*. Kiliáh kidney means *capsuled, inclosed*, referring to the capsules of the kidneys as well as to the fat in which the kidneys are embedded.⁴ The dual kil'áim² two, which we find in the two well-known passages Lev. 19, 19; Deut. 22, 9, means originally a brace, i. e. two things firmly held together. According to Bæntsch's commentary on Leviticus⁵ kil'áim² means *scharf auseinanderzuhaltende Dinge*; but כלל does not mean to keep apart. Originally כלאים kil'áim² denoted a brace, or pair, or couple (cf. دفغان dif'ani).¹⁰ The meaning two different kinds, a mixture of two heterogeneous things, is secondary.

Lev. 19, 19 states: Thou shalt not breed hybrids (*e. g.* mules) lit. thou shalt not cause two (animals of) different (species) to interbreed; thou shalt not sow thy field with hybrid seed, i. e. two different kinds of seed; nor put on a garment of hybrid material, i. e. linsey-woolsey, of which the warp is linen and the woof woollen. A mixture of oats and barley sown together is called in English: *dredge* = German *Dreck*; a mixture of rye and wheat is known as *maslin* or *meslin*; a crop of several species of grain grown together is termed in England: *mangcorn* or *mongcorn*.

For the sowing of a field with different kinds of seed we may compare the second couplet of the proverbial poem at the

end of the 28th chapter of the Book of Isaiah, where the poet (not Isaiah!) says of the plowman:

הֲלֹא אִם־שָׂוֶה פָּנָהּ וְהִפִּץ קֶצֶה וְכִמּוֹן
וְשֵׁם הָשָׂה וְנִסְמַר וְנִסְמַת גִּבְלָתוֹ⁶:

Does he not, when the surface is leveled,
sow broadcast fennel and cummin,
And duly drill wheat there and broom-corn,
while spelt is set out for its border?⁷

The proper term for a mixture of linen and wool is *linsey*, or rather *linsel*, while *woolsey* should be used for a mixture of wool and cotton. The Hebrew term for *linsel* is שֵׁטֶנֶץ *sha'atnéz*, which seems to be a foreign word. In Stade's ZAT 20, 37 Goldziher called attention to the fact that according to some Arabic lexicographers the sorcerers mixed cotton and wool for certain magical practices. In one of the cuneiform incantations of the magical texts known as the *šurpu* series⁸ a cord made of white wool and black wool (*šipāti peḡāti, šipāti ḡalmāti*)⁹ is used for magical purposes. This mixed cord (Assyr. *qû eḡpu*)¹⁰ was supposed to break the evil spell, the curse of the gods.

It is a mistake to suppose that all triconsonantal stems in Semitic are derived from biconsonantal roots, and that all biconsonantal roots had an *a*-vowel between the two consonants. There may have been primitive roots consisting of one, two, or three consonants. Words like Assyr. *qû cord*,¹¹ *mû water*, *pû mouth* are neither triconsonantal nor biconsonantal.

In my paper on Denominative Verbs in Semitic, which I presented at the meeting of the American Oriental Society on April 22, 1892,¹² I pointed out that Heb. פָּנָה *panáh to turn* (cf. Arab. تَوَجَّه *taújjaha*, from وَجْه *uajh face*) was a denominative verb, derived from *pānu*, the masculine plural of *pû mouth*, while פָּתָה *patáh* and פָּתַח *patáḥ to open* were derived from *pātu opening*, the feminine plural of *pû mouth*, used in a metaphorical meaning.¹³ Heb. פְּנִימָה *pēnimah interior* meant originally *forward*,¹⁴ a person who was בְּבֵית *babbā'ith*,² i. e. *inside* or *in the house*, could say בֹּא פְּנִימָה *bō pēnimah come forward* for *come inside*.

In the Critical Notes on Kings (SBOT)²⁰ p. 210, l. 20 I have shown that the meaning *inside* of בְּבֵית *babbā'ith*² is more primitive than the meaning *in the house*. The feminine form בֵּית *bā'ith*² *house* stands for *bēth, bāt, bā't* and is connected

with the verb **בוא** *bô to enter*¹⁵ and the reduplicated form **בָּבַב** *bāb gate, originally entrance*. The stem **ב** *bô to enter*¹⁵ on the other hand, is connected with the preposition **ב** *bē in*, just as our word *inn*, which means originally *shelter*, is identical with the preposition *in*. We find the preposition **ב** *bē in* as the first stem-consonant of a verb, not only in **ב** *bô to enter* (originally *to in = to inn*)¹⁵ but also in Assy. *bašû he is* (lit. *in him*; cf. Eth. **ላ**: *bô* and **ላቲ**: *bôtû*; Dillm.², p. 435; TSBA 3, 104) and in Heb. **בלה** *baláh (בלי) to become old, originally to be worn out, to be used up, to be reduced to nothing*. In Assyrian the Piel¹⁶ *bullû* means *to annihilate*, while the Qal (HW 273^b, below)²⁰ has the meaning *to implore*, i. e. *to importune*, to weary¹⁷ with prayers (cf. **וּלֹא הִוַּעַתִּיךָ בְּלִבְנוֹהָ**, Is. 43, 23). The noun **בלי** *bēli annihilation* (cf. **תַּבְּלִית** *tablith* Is. 10, 25) is originally a compound of the preposition **ב** *bē* and the negative **לֹא** *lô*; the negative **בל** *bal* is shortened from *balû, balî, balâ*; cf. Assy. *šadû mountain*, constr. *šad*; *našû carrier*, constr. *naš*; *kalû totality*, constr. *kal*.¹⁸ In Assyrian we find *balû* or *balî* = Heb. **בלל** *bēlô* (for *bi-lâ*) *without*, or *ina lâ* (e. g. *ina lâ ûmišu = בלל יומי בלל יִּמּוֹ* *bēlô iômô*); cf. Eth. *enbála* = Assy. *ina balû* = Heb. **בבלי** *bivli* (for *bi-bēli*); see Critical Notes on Proverbs (SBOT) p. 51, n. β. The preposition **ב** *bē* is preserved in Assy. *balû* and *bašû*, just as the preposition **ל** *lē* is preserved in Assy. *lapāni* = Heb. **לפני** *lifnê*; or as the Assyrian preposition *ina* is preserved in Ethiopic *enbála without* and *enzá in that* (German *indem*). A feminine form of the negative **בל** *bal* is **בילתי** *biltî*, i. e. *bilt* with lengthening of the *i* of the genitive, which is used instead of the construct state; cf. **זולתי** *zûlâthî* = **זולת** *zûlâth*, &c. In the case of **ב** *bē in* and **בא** *bô to enter*¹⁵ some may be inclined to think that the verbal root is perhaps more primitive than the preposition, just as the Sumerian postposition *-ra* may be connected with the verb *ra to go* = Assy. *alâku*;¹⁹ but in the case of **בלה** *baláh* the verb is evidently derived from the compound particle **בלי** *bēli*, consisting of the preposition **ב** *bē* and the negative *li*, the 'genitive' of *lâ*.

Notes.

(1) Presented at the meeting of the American Oriental Society, New Haven, April 18, 1906.

(2) The dual termination *-aïm* is monosyllabic, not dissyllabic (*áyim*); see above, p. 255, n. 17.

(3) Friedrich Delitzsch, *Prolegomena* (Leipzig, 1886) p. 131, advanced the opinion that kallātu meant originally *closed chamber* (from כַּלְתָּה i. e. *the bridal chamber*). According to W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (Cambridge, 1885) p. 136, the etymological sense is that of *covering*. For the cuneiform ideogram of kallātu *bride* cf. my translation of Cant. 8, 9 (AJSL 18, 196). Winckler's interpretation of this passage (in his *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 3, 240) is impossible. For the etymology of *bride* (and for *dredge* = German *Dreck*, &c.) see my paper *Some Germanic Etymologies* in vol. 27 of *The American Journal of Philology* (Baltimore, 1906).

(4) See Lev. 3, 4, 10, 15 and compare the translation of the first five chapters of Leviticus in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 114, p. 113.

(5) Bruno Bæntsch, *Exodus-Leviticus-Numeri* (Göttingen, 1903) p. 398.

(6) For the two beats in גְּבֻלָּתְךָ gēbūlathō cf. n. 71 to my paper on ψ 23 (AJSL 21, 148).

(7) See my restoration of the Hebrew text in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 163, p. 89.

(8) See my paper on Babylonian Elements in the Levitic Ritual in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. 19, p. 55.

(9) See iv R² 8, 29^b; cf. my ASKT 91, 55, 58 and Zimmern's *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion* (Leipzig, 1901) p. 33, l. 150.

(10) The stem is עָפַף = ضَعَف ḏā'aḏa, Syr. اَعَفَ (عَفَفَ = عَفَفَ); cf. Driver, *Heb. Tenses* (1892) p. 223. For the transposition cf. my remarks in ZDMG 58, 631, n. *, cited in § 10 of my paper on the Heb. stem nahál to rest. Delitzsch (HW 308; AL⁴, 168) derives eḡēpu from a stem יָעַץ. Heb. יָעַץ is not connected with Assyr. eḡēpu (contrast Ges.-Buhl¹⁴) but Aram. יָעַץ loan may be connected with Assyr. ḡiptu (constr. ḡipāt, ḡibat) *interest*.

(11) Assyr. qû (Heb. קָרָה) may be a Sumerian loanword (= Sumer. gu).

(12) See the abstract in No. 114 of the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, p. 109.

(13) Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch²⁷, § 122, u. A similar differentiation of the plural forms is found in Persian, e. g. سرها sar-hâ *heads*, but سران sarân *chiefs*; گردنها gardan-hâ *necks*, but گردانان gardanân *magnates*. For the masculine plural ending -ân in Semitic cf. my remarks in the Critical Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 270, n. *.

(14) Gesenius' explanation (*Thesaurus*, p. 1112^b, below) that פָּנִימָה corresponded to the Greek τὰ ἐνὸπρια, is not satisfactory.

(15) The primitive meaning is *to turn in at night*; cf. e. g. Jud. 19, 15; this explains also the phrase בָּא אֶל אִשְׁתּוֹ and מִבֹּרַח הַשָּׁמַיִם (cf. ψ 19, 6). The verb is intransitive or involuntary, because originally people sought shelter only when compelled by the inclemency of the weather or by nightfall. See my remarks in JAOS 16, ci; cf. Gesenius²⁷, § 43, a.

(16) In his paper *Die Bezeichnung der Verbalstämme im Semitischen* printed in Peiser's *Orientalistische Litteratur-Zeitung*, vol. 9 (Jan. 1906) col. 45, Dr. Ungnad has proposed a "new" notation for the "conjugations" of the Semitic verb, e. g. G (= *Grundstamm*) for Qal; D (= *Doppelungsstamm*) for Piel; S for Shaphel; N for Niphal, &c. Dr. Ungnad has evidently overlooked the fact that such a notation must have an international character. We may use Q = Qal, but not G = *Grundstamm*; in the same way we may adopt I = Intensive, but not D = *Doppelungsstamm*. I proposed the symbols Q, I, S, N, and Q^t, Q^{tn}, &c. 27 years ago, in my *Sumerische Familiengesetze* (Leipzig, 1879) p. 64, n. 1, and this notation has been used in Muss-Arnolt's Assyrian dictionary.

(17) Cf. לִּנְסָה Is. 7, 13; Mic. 6, 3, &c. The verb לִּנְסָה is derived from the negative לֹא, just as Assy. *balû* is connected with לֹא.

(18) See above, p. 205, n. †.

(19) See my ASKT 140, § 11; *Akkadische Sprache* (Berlin, 1883) p. 14. This postposition, of course, cannot establish any connection between Sumerian and Turkish or Finnish. There are postpositions in Latin (e. g. *gratiâ, causâ, tenus*, &c.) as well as in Sumerian. We find a postposition *-ra* as exponent of the dative in Persian, e. g. پدر را *pidâr-ra* to the father, Sumerian *adâ-ra*. Cf. the Persian pronoun *man-ra* or *ma-ra* to me, Sum. *mara*; see *Akkad. Sprache*, p. xli, l. 1. Linguists who have been led astray by Scheftelowitz's theories concerning the Aryan character of certain cuneiform idioms should read the remarks in Delitzsch and Haupt's *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. 5, p. 411. Cf. also Bloomfield's article On some alleged Indo-European Languages in Cuneiform Character in vol. 25 of *The American Journal of Philology* (Baltimore, 1904) p. 7.

(20) For the abbreviations see above, p. 202, n. 3.

INSCRIBED PALMYRENE MONUMENTS IN THE MUSEUM OF THE SYRIAN PROTESTANT COLLEGE, BEIRUT.

BY HARVEY PORTER,
Professor in the Syrian Protestant College.

AND
CHARLES C. TORREY,
Professor in Yale University.

The decipherment of the following inscriptions is substantially that of Professor Porter, who also contributed some of the notes. The facsimile drawings were made by me from excellent squeezes furnished by him. [C. C. T.]



I.

Female bust.

𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕
𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕
𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕
𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕
𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕

חבל אמבאי
בית בר'א
זבד'אטה
446 שנת

*Alas! Ambai, the daughter of
Bar'a, [son of] Zabd'ateh. The
year 446 (= 134/135 A. D.).*

The name Ambai, presumably the shortened form of אַמְבַּל (cf. the well-known Punic name אַמְבַּל) appears here for the first time.

The name ברעא is already known.

II.

Two busts, male and female, on one stone. The inscription at the base:¹

שְׁלֵמָה וְנְבוּלָה בְּרֵי מַלְכֵי הַבֵּל
צִנְרִי מִלְּצֵה צִי
נְטִילָא אֶמְלֵ

שְׁלֵמָה וְנְבוּלָה בְּרֵי מַלְכֵי הַבֵּל

Selmat and Nebūla, the children of Māliku, son of Nebūla. Alas!

And the date, inscribed between the two heads:

צִנְרִי
שְׁלֵמָה
וְנְבוּלָה
בְּרֵי מַלְכֵי הַבֵּל

בִּרְחָ
קִינָה
שָׁנָה
490

*In the month QNIN of
the year 490 (= 179 A. D.).*

The Palmyrene proper name שְׁלֵמָה (fem.) is already known.

This first occurrence of the name נְבוּלָה is interesting. The Greek transcription Νεβουλας is found in the inscription discussed by Chabot in the *Journal asiatique*, 1898, pp. 69 sqq., and since then by several scholars. The Palmyrene name is there illegible. Clermont-Ganneau (*Recueil*, III, p. 163) proposed to restore נְבוּלָה (*i. e.*, נְבוּלָה); in this he was opposed by Lidzbarski (*Ephemeris*, I, 83, bottom), who was right, it seems, in

¹ For the sake of convenience, the facsimile has been divided into three lines, although on the monument it is in one continuous line.

objecting to his restoration, but wrong in proposing to emend the Greek to *Νεβουννας*. The second element of the name נְבוּ-לָא is probably the shortened form of אֱלֹה, "god;" cf., on the one hand, the name נְבוּאֱלֹה, and, on the other hand, the names זבדלָא *Zaβδελα*, חַיְמָלָא (*Ephemeris*, I, p. 80, below), אֲמַתְלָהּ and אֲמַתְלָח; also אֱלֹהָבֵל *Ελαβηλος*, etc.

III.

Male bust. The inscription is illegible.

IV.

Female bust.

חמא
ברת
חלפתא
חבל

חמא
ברת
חלפתא
חבל

*Tamma, the daughter
of Halapta. Alas!*

Both names are now well known. See the Index to *Ephemeris*, I, and also II, 78 (No. 2).

V.

Male bust.

קוקה
בר
שמעון
בר
קוקה
חבל

קוקה בר
שמעון
בר קוקה
חבל

*Qōqaḥ, the son of Šem'ōn,
son of Qōqaḥ. Alas!*

The name קוקה occurs in several other Palmyrene inscriptions; see the references in Lidzbarski's *Ephemeris*, I, p. 366, top, and also No. 7 of this collection.

Instead of the ל of חבל the inscription seems to have ה or ז; a curious blunder.

VI.

Male bust. The inscription is damaged, so that only one name is legible.

𐤅
𐤕𐤕𐤕
𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕

בר
יבדא בר
ירחי חבל

. . . ., the son of 'bda, son
of Yarḥai. Alas!

VII.

Male bust.

שאחלא
חאלפת
בר חאל
חאל

שאילא
בר חלפת
קוקה
חבל

*Še'ila, the son of Ḥalpat,
[son of] Qōqaḥ. Alas!*

שאילא, transcribed Σεελα, is already known.

The masc. proper name חלפת (without final א) occurs in a Palmyrene inscription published in 1898 by D. H. Müller (*Denkschriften der Kais. Akad. der Wiss. in Wien, Phil.-hist. Classe, XLVI, iii*). The form is queried by Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, p. 501, but seems to be rendered certain by this inscription.

On the name קוקה, see above, No. 5.

VIII.

Male bust.

כאדעבל
בר בונה
בר עדעבתון
חבל
חאל

ידיעבל
בר בונה
בר עדעבתון
חבל

*Yedī'bēl, the son of Bōnne,
son of 'Abd'abtōn. Alas!*

The first two names are well known. The name in the third line looks like a diminutive of עבד-עבדה, which occurs frequently in Nabataean inscriptions.

IX.

Male bust. The inscription is no longer legible.

X.

Male bust. The inscription is an obvious forgery. The bust itself is genuine.

XI.

Bust of a woman, with the standing figure of a child behind the left shoulder.

אבנ
בתחירן
ברח
מלא

חבל
בתחירן
ברח
מלא

*Alas! Bathairān, the
daughter of Male.*

Between the two heads is the word

אחיהא

אחיהא
Her sister.

XII.

Female bust.

אבנ
שלום
ברח
אוישי
אוישי

חבל
שלום
ברח
אוישי
אוישי

*Alas! Šalōm, the daughter
of Auši, [son of] Auši.*

שָׁלוֹם, as a fem. proper name, is already known from one Palmyrene inscription; see the reference in Lidzbarski's *Handbuch*, s. v.

אוֹשִׁי (cf. the Nabataean אוֹשִׁי *Aussos*) is also known.

On the other side of the head is the date:

ררמג
בשזא
שזא
333 יו

יום 1
בתשרי
שנה
63

*The first day of Tišrī,
in the year [5]63 (= October,
251 A. D.).*

The י and ו of the word יום are made almost exactly alike; cf. the inscription published in the *Journal of the Am. Or. Society*, Vol. XXVI (1905), p. 105.

The spelling of Tišrī with final ש is remarkable. The squeeze shows the letter distinctly.

In the number of the year the hundreds are omitted. Judging from the type of the characters used in the inscription, it dates from the sixth century of the Seleucid era. But is there any other example of such an omission?

XIII.

Male bust.

תרימו
צחזח
חזח
חזח

מוקמו
בר תימרשו
הימשה
חבל

*Moqīmu, the son of
Taimarṣu, [son of]
Taim'a. Alas!*

Note the ligature of the תי, in lines 2 and 3.

The name הימשה, which occurs here for the first time, is probably an abbreviation of the well-known תימרשו.

XIV.

Male bust. The inscription is badly executed and somewhat damaged.

עמרנא בנ	[ב]לם נרקס
בנ שיעל	בר שלמן
מאמרנא בנ	מרקלא חבל
אמרנא בנ	די עבד לה
אמרנא בנ	חימא בר
אמרנא בנ	קלסטא
אמרנא בנ	אדודה

Bust of NRQS, the son of Šalman(?), [son of] Marqelle (Alas!); which his brother Taima, son of Qalliste, made for him.

The name נרקס occurs here for the first time. Probably Narcissus *Nάρκισσος*? נרקס = *Narκαῖος* is already known; see Lidzb., *Handbuch*, p. 502; *Ephemeris*, I, pp. 205, 242.

The ending of the second line is quite indistinct, but it seems most likely that only one letter was written after the בנ, and that that letter was י.

The name מרקלא, = *Mάρκελλε*, Marcellus, is known from an inscription published by Dr. Spoer in Vol. XXV of the *Journal of the Am. Or. Society*, pp. 317 sq. It occurs also in No. 15, below.

The name קלסטא (apparently *Κάλλιστε*) occurs here for the first time.

XV.

Male bust.

אנתתו	שלם מנא
בנ אנתתו	בר חנני בורשא
בנ אנתתו	בר מרקלא
בנ אנתתו	חבל

Bust of Ma'na, the freedman of Bōrpa, son of Marqelle. Alas!

Ma'na has been known as a Nabatean proper name. The forms מנא, מנא, and מנא are known from Palmyrene inscriptions.

On the name מנא, see above, No. 14.

I take the opportunity to add here the readings of a few Palmyrene inscriptions recently in the possession of the dealer Aziz Khayat, of New York City. They have now passed into other hands; I do not know where any one of them is to be found.

Those lettered A and B I myself saw and copied. The readings are all certain. For C and D I have tolerably good squeezes, furnished by the dealer. From these I have made the accompanying facsimiles. For E I have only drawings, sent me by Mr. Khayat. [C. C. T.]

A.

Male bust.

גדדסו בר
מלא בר
חננא
חבל

*Gadarṣu, the son of
Male, son of Ḥan-
nāna. Alas!*

The name Ḥannīna has heretofore been known from only one inscription; see *Ephemeris*, I, p. 347 C, and *cf.* also II, p. 79. It occurs also in two of the inscriptions, C and D, which here follow.

B.

Female bust.

אקמא בר
מקי חבל

Aqme (Ἀκμή), the daughter of Maqqai. Alas!

Both names are known.

C.

חבא בת
חננא
חבל

חבא בת
חננא
חבל

Ḥabba, the daughter of Ḥannīna. Alas!

A part of the letter **ת** in the **בת** is wanting in the squeeze. From the portion which is distinct it seems quite certain that the letter could not have been **ר**. On the use of **בת** (without **ר**) in this and similar cases, see the *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.*, XXV (1904), p. 321. It is not at all likely that a compound name, Bat-Ḥannīna, is intended.

D.

לעמ
דת גדב
* * אחת
חנינא
[י]יהי
הבל

Of 'MĎT, [the daughter of] GRB * *, the wife of Ḥannīna, [son of] [Y]arḥai. Alas!

The name **עמדת** (or **עמרת**) is known only from one Nabataean inscription (Lidzb., *Handbuch*, s. v.).

The beginning of the third line is indistinct on the squeeze. Before the **א** stands a letter which is apparently **ל**, but might conceivably be **פ**. **י** and **ו** are also possibilities. Just before this are traces of another letter which probably formed the beginning of the line. The curved terminal stroke (if really original) suggests especially **ז** or **ק** or **ה**, but there are other possibilities.

The manner of beginning the inscription (with **ל**) is remarkable.

E.

Two inscriptions which contain the same three names.

(1)

הבל
אברוק חבן [עג]
א ושלמת בנו[הי]

Alas!
'ABRŌQ, [the son of] ḤBN. ['Og-
g]a and Šelmat, [his] children.

(2)

חבל עגא
ושלמת בנ[י]
אברוק הבן

*Alas! 'Ogga and
Šelmat, the childr[en] of
'ABRŌQ [son of] ḤBN.*

The name אברוק (? אברוק) is the same one which occurs in the interesting inscription recently published by Littmann (*Semitic Inscriptions*, 1904, pp. 66 *sqq.*). The etymology and pronunciation of it are still quite problematic.

The name הבן has heretofore been known from a single Nabataean monument. In inscription (2) the drawing of the ה is defective, the letter looking more like ה; but in (1) it is plain.

The last two letters of lines 2 and 3 appear to be missing, in No. (1). The א of [א]עג is fairly distinct, and the drawing could hardly be that of any other letter. The ע in this name in No. (2) seems certain, and is ligatured with the following ב, but as the form of the letter as drawn is a little ambiguous I have marked it with a dot. The other letters of the inscriptions are all unmistakable.

RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS TO ASSYRIOLOGY.

BY W. MUSS-ARNOLT,
Belmont, Mass.

M. Jules Oppert, the distinguished Paris academician and the last of the three great founders of Assyriology, died at Paris, August 21, 1905, just eighty years of age. To the very last days of his busy life he had carried on his researches with the same energy, perseverance, and successful ingenuity which in his earlier years enabled him to outstrip many of his fellow-workers.¹ The chair of Assyriology at the Collège de France, which he had occupied since 1869, had been especially created for him; it is one of the few chairs, in Europe as well as in America, whose occupant can devote himself exclusively to the study of Assyriology.

Oppert founded a school which has numbered as its members many of the well-known French Assyriologists, one of whom, Dr. Charles Fossey, has just been appointed successor to the great master. It is, therefore, with increased interest that we view each new publication of the young scholar upon whose shoulders the mantle of the departed master has fallen.

Fossey's *La magie assyrienne*, which was crowned by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, and obtained for its author the Prix Saintour, has been reviewed in this *Journal*² by Professor J. Dyneley Prince, who called it "a most interesting attempt to translate a number of extremely difficult and obscure inscriptions," and who states that "The book merits a place of honor in every Assyriological library."

In the year 1904, Fossey began the publication of his *Manuel d'assyriologie*,³ which in nine stately volumes proposes to present both to the Assyriologist and to the general student of Semitic languages, literature, and history a survey of all that should interest them, and is most useful for an intelligent appreciation of the achievements of the researches of the past fifty years along Assyrio-

¹ See the reviewer's article, "The Works of Jules Oppert," published in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Vol. II, pp. 523-56.

² Vol. XIX, April, 1903, pp. 184-87.

³ Charles Fossey, *Manuel d'assyriologie*. Tome Premier: "Explorations et fouilles, déchiffrement des cunéiformes; Origine et histoire de l'écriture." Contenant trois plans et une carte. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1904. Pp. xvi+470. Fr. 25.

logical lines.⁴ Vol. I contains material which has been admirably and most exhaustively treated by many scholars, so that Fossey had a good foundation upon which to rear his own structure. In three divisions he describes **1.** The "Explorations and Discoveries," pp. 1-80; **2.** "The Development of the Cuneiform Inscriptions," pp. 81-244; and **3.** "The Origin and History of the Cuneiform Writing," pp. 245-390. Book I is divided into five chapters, of which the initial contains a brief description of Chaldea, Elam, and Assyria; chaps. 2-4, the history of the explorations and discoveries; and chap. 5, the principal Assyro-Babylonian eprigraphical monuments, classified according to the place where they had been discovered and indicating also where they are found published. This last chapter is a most useful summary. Book II gives in four chapters the history of the decipherment of the Persian, Susian, and Assyro-Babylonian cuneiform inscriptions, and closes with a fifth chapter containing a critical estimate of the results and achievements on the part of Assyriologists. These two books, to be sure, contain very little new material, the author traversing so well-trodden ground that to pick out something new appears almost a hopeless task. Most welcome is the list of the Persian cuneiform alphabet, with the name of the scholar who first determined each character and the date. With Book III the author enters upon a field where he had not so many predecessors. Again in five chapters he takes up (1) the ideographic origin of the cuneiform writing and its subsequent development; (2) the Sumerian origin of the Babylonian writing, chaps. 2-4, of which 3 and 4 are exclusively devoted to a critical estimate and refutation of the views of Halévy, the learned defender of the Semitic origin of the cuneiform writing. The closing chapter treats of the Babylonian origin of the Susian and Persian alphabets. Pp. 393-446 contain a well-selected bibliography on the three subjects treated in the first volume; followed by a careful alphabetical index, pp. 449-65, and an explanation by M. J. Lesquier of the map and the three plans, pp. 469, 470. The whole book is well done, giving a convenient summary for the general reader of matters known, of course, to the professional Assyriologist.⁵ It will

⁴ Vols. II-IX are to treat the following topics: II, "The Souras, including *monuments écrits et monuments figurés*"; III, "The Sumerian and Assyrian Languages;" IV, "Geography of Western Asia on the Basis of the Cuneiform Documents;" V, "History;" VI, "Religion;" VII, "Legal and Contract Literature;" VIII, "Epistolary Literature, Arts and Sciences, Metrology;" IX, "Babylonian Influences."

⁵ P. 276. In discussing the colophon of II Rawl., p. 36, No. 1, Fossey reads GIŠ-ZU-MEŠ as *talmedi*. This seems quite impossible.

be in the succeeding volumes that the author will have ample opportunity to exhibit that breadth of learning and accuracy of scholarship of which we know him to be the fortunate possessor.

Brünnow's well-known and useful *Classified List of All Simple and Compound Cuneiform Ideographs Occurring in the Texts Hitherto* (1889) *Published*, etc., and the same author's *Indices* to this List, published in 1897, as well as Father Strassmaier's *Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der assyrischen und akkadischen Wörter*, etc., are standard publications that will never be antiquated or become useless. The work which these two scholars have done so well will be their authors' *monumentum aere perennius*. But inasmuch as Assyriology is a living science, developing more and more from year to year, increasing continually the bulk of its literature by new discoveries and first editions of texts hitherto unknown or inaccessible, it is but natural that the fine example set by Brünnow, especially, should be followed by others. The two French Assyriologists, Fossey and Virolleaud, have of late contributed such continuations which, as they treat texts not included in Brünnow's book, constitute most welcome supplements. In 1903 M. Virolleaud, professor of Assyriology in the University of Lyon, France, brought out a *Premier supplément à la liste des signes cunéiformes de Bruennow* (Paris: Welter; v+78 pages), based chiefly on the material contained in the bilingual hymns published by Geo. Reisner. The book assumes on the part of its peruser an acquaintance with Brünnow's volume. Whether a second supplement will appear, we know not; especially now that the first half of Fossey's *Contribution*⁶ has been published, including the most important bilingual literary documents published since 1889. The arrangement and order of signs is that of Brünnow. The 192 pages of this first half represent the continuation of pp. 1-258 of Brünnow's, whose page, in addition, contains on the average ten lines more (thirty-eight) as against Fossey's (twenty-eight), the writing also being more compact, so that we can safely estimate that one of Brünnow's pages averages about two pages of Fossey's. Fossey, of course, only mentions the new values for the signs discovered and determined since 1889, assuming that the peruser of his book will have at hand that of his pre-

⁶ *Contributions au Dictionnaire Sumérien-Assyrien. Supplément à la "Classified List" de Brünnow. Fasc. Premier.* Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1905. Fr. 20. The second half is announced as in the press. In a note, dated April 18, 1906, Virolleaud states that no second fascicle of his supplement will be published.

decessor's also. To the lexicographer this book, as well as that of Virolleaud, will be fully as welcome as that of Brünnow, especially when the second half of Fossey's, containing also preface and indices, is before us, which we hope will be within a short time. No one that owns a copy of Brünnow will want to be without this latest contribution of Jules Oppert's successor. We trust that the second half will exhibit those features the lack of which in Virolleaud's *Supplément* Fossey lamented on pp. 20, 21 of his excellent annual survey of Assyriological work in 1903.⁷ As a side issue—or precursor—of this *Contribution* may be considered the author's *Études sumériennes* (25 pp.) published in 1905.⁸ Another supplement to Brünnow's *Classified List* has just been announced, which will be fully as important as those of Virolleaud and Fossey. Bruno Meissner, the well-known author of the *Supplement zu den assyrischen Wörterbüchern*,⁹ is just publishing the first fascicle, of eighty pages, of *Seltene assyrische Ideogramme*.¹⁰ The book will contain about 280 pages, and its completion is promised within a year after the appearance of Part I. We shall certainly welcome this latest supplement, and hope, when both Fossey and Meissner are completed, to review in detail these three supplements in a future number of this *Journal*.

It was but natural to expect that the author of the *Magie assyrienne* would publish also and explain some of the texts which he had studied for that purpose, and so we find a number of texts discussed in recent volumes of Maspéro's *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, which are now gathered into one volume and published, in 1904, as *Nouveaux textes magiques assyriens: transcription, traduction et commentaire*. And in November, 1905, appeared his *Textes assyriens et babyloniens relatifs à la divination: transcripts, traduits et commentés*; I^e série: Šumma ŠA-TAB;¹¹ the text itself being published in the *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, Part XX, pp. 31–33 (119 lines of well-preserved text), and pp. 34–37 (four columns of 28,

⁷ *L'assyriologie en 1903*. Par M. Charles Fossey. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1904. Pp. 70. Reprinted from the *Journal asiatique*, September-October, 1904.

⁸ Reprinted from the same journal, January-February, 1905. Fr. 2.50.

⁹ I. e., the dictionaries of Delitzsch and of Muss-Arnolt. See Professor Robert F. Harper's review in this *Journal*, Vol. XIV, pp. 177–82.

¹⁰ This supplement will contain some six thousand entries, about the same number as Fossey's. It is published by the J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung at Leipzig.

¹¹ Paris: Geuthner. Pp. viii + 51. Fr. 6, net.

19, 29, and 32 lines, respectively, more or less mutilated). For the Assyrian dictionary these texts yield a few words hitherto not registered, or explained faultily. These will all be incorporated in the reviewer's supplemental volume to his *Concise Dictionary* (= CD.) of the Assyrian Language. The series is called Šuma ŠA-TAB from the first words of the text, ŠA-TAB being the word of which both texts are treating. The author explains the ideogram as meaning something like "kidneys" (pp. 36-38).

Professor Virolleaud is another of those younger French scholars of whom we may expect much good work in the near future. His *L'astrologie chaldéenne*, of which Parts 5, 6, 7, and 8 have appeared, falls into four sections given to texts relating to Sin (the moon), Šamaš (the sun), Ištar (the planets and the stars), and to Adad (the atmosphere). The work is to be completed in thirteen fascicles, of which Parts 1-4 shall contain the cuneiform texts; Parts 5-8, the transliterations; Parts 9-12, the translations; and Part 13, the introduction and glossary. Apparently no commentary will be provided for; though the texts imperatively call for one. The author has, for the first time, classified methodically the fragments published by Craig and Boissier. As soon as the author has published the first four parts we shall be better able to judge of the correctness of his transliterations. To judge, even now, from the character of other publications of Virolleaud's, we may expect to find the same degree of accuracy and painstaking care which he has shown thus far.¹²

Almost simultaneously with Fossey's *Contribution* appeared

¹² M. Virolleaud has published also the following: *Comptabilité chaldéenne: époque de la dynastie dite "seconde d'Our;"* transcrite et traduite; 2 parties (Poitiers, 1903); pp. 139; being 76 documents from Tell Loh, copied by the editor in Constantinople, but without publication of the texts. They relate to business transactions, sale of grain, of cattle, of wool, etc., wages of servants and artisans, offerings and sacrifices to Gods.—Di-Tilla: *Textes juridiques chaldéens de la seconde dynastie d'Our;* transcrits et traduits; *ibid.*, 1903; pp. iii+39.—*Études de divination chaldéenne: I:* "Extraits des séries alu et maršu;" transcription (Paris: Welter, 1904).—*Fragments de textes divinatoires assyriens du Musée britannique* (London: Harrison, 1903); pp. 20.—*Études sur l'astrologie chaldéenne* (Poitiers, 1904); pp. 16.—Also a number of excellent contributions along lexicographical and astrological lines in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, the *Revue sémitique*, etc. It may be well to state that Parts 5-8 of *L'astrologie chaldéenne* were published in autograph by Welter, Paris, 1903; and that Part 6: *Šamash* was also published in printed form by Geuthner, Paris, 1905. A revised manuscript of fascicles 1-8 is now in the hands of an American editor ready to be incorporated into a series now in progress of publication. We also call attention to the appearance of a new French Assyriological journal, *Babyloniaca*, edited by Virolleaud, of which part 1, 59 pp. (Paris: Geuthner, 1906) has appeared. Professor Virolleaud has most generously placed at the reviewer's disposal new lexicographical material from astronomical and astrological texts which he has made his special study for years. This material, most valuable and registering a number of new words hitherto not found in any Assyrian dictionary, will be published in the reviewer's supplemental volume to his dictionary.

the first instalment of Professor Prince's new book.¹³ The reviewer has seldom read an Assyriological publication whose tone, spirit, and candor have impressed him so favorably as this latest book of the Assyriologist of Columbia University, in which he sets out "to solve some of the many problems which have vexed the Assyriological world since the first recognition of the existence in the Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions of an idiom which is clearly not Semitic." Like Fossey, Prince is an ardent opponent of Halévy and his school; but he is much more yielding in unessentials than Fossey has shown himself in his first volume of the *Manuel d'assyriologie*. Prince sets forth the theory that "the Sumerian of later days, especially of the hymns, is a more or less deliberately constructed hodge-podge of Semitic inventions superimposed on what could only have been a non-Semitic agglutinative, almost polysynthetic, language;" and he hopes "that this will go a long way toward setting at rest the argumentation of the constantly decreasing Halévyan school."

The introduction of thirty-four pages contains two chapters: (1) "The Vocabulary and Phonetic System of Sumerian;"¹⁴ and (2) "The Sumerian Pronominal and Verbal Systems."¹⁵ In the arrangement of the *Materials* published here the author has the order followed by Brünnow, pp. 574-88 of his *Classified List*. Prince's book is not a mere list of bilingual words, but a scientific, running discussion on the basis of the author's previous work and the results obtained by his predecessors. It is his endeavor to bring forth as clearly as possible the special development from the primitive idea attached to the original ideograms. Once in a while the process of reasoning strikes the reader as rather fanciful or a little far-fetched; but not often is this the case. It would have helped the reader greatly if Prince had numbered consecutively the different sections from beginning to end, as Brünnow has done in his book. What impresses one most

¹³ *Materials for a Sumerian Lexicon*. With a Grammatical Introduction. By John Dyneley Prince, Ph. D., Professor of Semitic Languages in Columbia University, New York. Part I: Containing the letters A-E. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1905. Pp. xxxvi + 109, 4to. M. 24 = *Assyriologische Bibliothek*, herausgegeben von Friedrich Delitzsch und Paul Haupt, Band XIX, Heft 1.

¹⁴ Being, on the whole, a reprint of the author's article in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XXV (1904), pp. 49-67.

¹⁵ A verbatim reprint of the author's article in this JOURNAL, "The First and Second Persons in Sumerian," Vol. XIX, pp. 203-39. A few minor corrections are offered here: § 15, l. 2 read ka ša-ma; l. 4: IV², 10, 7b, reads ap-ta]-na-šī-il; § 46, l. 1, read IV⁴, 19, 49a. On the other hand, § 16 the reading ša[-a-d-da-k u] in II. 16 c 36, is very good indeed.

favorably is the author's candid statement, so often met, "I cannot explain this." On the other hand, we believe that the author attributes too high a degree of culture and philological witticism to the "coiners" of the later Sumerian hodge-podge who reveled in the use of puns and paronomasia. I wonder whether, indeed, this is the true explanation of the many strange phenomena in the Sumero-Assyrian vocabulary. Perhaps the author will explain this more at length in later parts of his lexicon, which we sincerely hope will be completed before many months. In a work of this kind, undertaken and carried through by a single man, errors and minute corrigenda are necessarily to be expected. The author intends his *Materials* only to be a nucleus around which further investigations may be made, much as Brünnow's work has been. At the same time it will be most useful to the student of Sumerian.

Fault has been found with the work because in it the author has not incorporated all the material in the volumes of the British Museum's publication *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets*. But here, again, it should be noticed that Professor Prince does not venture to call his work a *Lexicon*, but merely *Materials* for a lexicon; and, on p. iv of his "Introduction," he distinctly states that this is only "an attempt at an explanation of the Sumerian problem." Nowhere does he claim to have made or to have tried to make a complete lexicon in any sense of the word. If viewed in this light as a pioneer effort to break the road toward a better understanding of the complexities of the Sumerian question, Prince's *Materials* ought to be a most useful work not only to the student beginning his work in Sumerian, but also to the scholar who may wish to compile a fuller word-list and to make a more exhaustive grammatical investigation. It seems hardly just to criticise a work for not being what the author never intended it should be.

The reviewer has read with unvarying interest and admiration this suggestive contribution, and he hopes that the author may deem at least a few of the following remarks and suggestions as worthy of a place in his list of "Addenda et Corrigenda."

A, pp. 1-46.

2, 8/9 read: V 29 g 44 za-gi-in-du-ru; V 22 a-b 11 za-gi-in-du-ur | ^{aban} za-gin-a (= dur).—8, 20/21 šaḥulum not şuḥulum (i'eḥelu?).—Instead of ša-u-a we must evidently read

ša (= *i. e.*) u-a; so against my own *Dictionary*, p. 995, col. 2.—**14**, 9/10 Whether tabīnu really means “a strong wall” is rather doubtful; see *CD.*, p. 1145, col. 2. It appears as a synonym of ritu, “pasture.”—The explanation of kab(p)duqqu: “a ceremonial vessel intended to be held in the left hand,” is very plausible and reasonable, the best yet offered.—**15**, 20/21 Why mazādu, 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎠 = 𐎠𐎵, “boil, cook,” instead of maçādu, 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎠; and why qinūnu, instead of kinūnu? Maçādu, “brilliance” I believe is also found in K 620 = Harper, *BAL.*, No. 91 where ma-ça-su-šu-nu dam-qa-at a-dan-niš is said of mirrors (l. 5); perhaps a mistake of editor for ma-ça-du-šu-nu or of scribe for ma-ça-s(>dš)u-nu.—**16**, 4 instead of K 50 read better K 56 and see Haupt, *ZK.*, Vol. II, p. 456.—**17**, 1/2 Jensen’s translation “Süsswasserocean” for apsû is no doubt based on the antithesis of apsû and tiāmtu, which he derives from 𐎶𐎶𐎶 = 𐎶𐎶, “stink,” *i. e.* “saltish water.” See also Zimmern in *KAT.*³, pp. 491, 492; 498, etc. It is thus only an applied, not an etymological meaning.—**20**, 2 and **88**, 9 Which is correct, aršašû or upšašû? (Jensen, Zimmern, *et al.*) If the latter, then the author’s reasoning is wrong.—12 read II (not III) 27, 57g; the Assyrian equivalent is xu-up-pu-u ša Gl (= qanî).—On gulibat šaxati see now the German edition of Jastrow’s *Religion*, Vol. I, p. 369.—**21** (below) I doubt very much the reading ša-la-am a-bu-bi. The frequent occurrence of ša la-am a-bu-bi makes Prince’s reading improbable.—**22**, 11 mēšaru not mēsarû.—**24**, 8/9 see also *CD.*, p. 897, col. 2, note to ģirtu.—**25**, **26** The etymology proposed for axulap is quite novel; but I doubt whether it is preferable to that proposed by Hommel, *PSBA.*, Vol. XIX, p. 315.—**26** (below). I do not believe that a-a-ar (GUŠKIN and KUBABBAR) is Sumerian, rather than pure Semitic. See also K 11424 (*Brit. Texts*, Vol. XIV, pl. 35) ll. 2, 3 (^{šam}) nu-ça-[bu] followed by 4-7 (^{šam}) a-a-ar (xurâġi).—**28**, A-LAL. I take na-ça-bu in II 33 d 4-6 to be a noun (>naççabu) rather than a verb. Prince’s combination of it with naçabu, “collect” is very good. See naçabu, 2 (*CD.*, p. 714, col. 1).—**29**, If algamīšu is Semitic, it has no place in this list.—Alluxappu I take to mean properly: “a large sack,” such as a “grain sack” = šaqqu ša šeim. As such it was also used for catching or snaring; hence the derived meaning of “net, snare,” *e. g.*, K 9875 III, sect. 3, ll. 12f. kima al-lu-xap-pu ta-sax-xa-pa-nin-ni, “like

a net you have cast me down.”—**30** (below). In the case of ri-i-bu I would suggest either a mistake on the part of the scribe of -bu for -mu; or that -bu was = *uu* = *mu*. It would thus be properly rīmu, יִרְמֻ.—**32** (end) IV 3 a 41 su-ru-us-su. The parallel text reads šu-ru-us-su = šuruš-šu > šuršu. See also Thompson, *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, Vol. II, pp. 68, 69.—**34**, An-ta-šub-ba. See especially Zimmern, *Ritualtafel*, p. 152, No. 45, l. 5 and rem., a reference which our author would have done well to mention.—**35**, An-ta-šur-ra. See also *KB.*, Vol. VI (1), pp. 449; 468, 469.—A-nun-na-ge. See in addition, *KB.*, Vol. VI (1), pp. 497, 548, and 566; and, especially, Hrozný, *Sumerisch-Babyl. Mythen von dem Gotte Ninrag*, pp. 84–89, according to whom they are the black-cloud gods, *i. e.*, the clouds charged with rain surrounding (embracing) the earth.—**36**, (end) II 26 a-b 4 I read a-a]-ar (see ll. 5, 6) | il-lu-rum and consider a’ar a *c.st.* of Semitic a’âru, âru, “flower, blossom, sprout” (אַר).—**38**, 1 On the ideogram of xaltappânu see now *Gött. gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1904, p. 743.—**39**, 5/6 The author’s statement: “The word has nothing to do with אֶרֶץ, so Muss-Arnolt,” is somewhat misleading. I have never advocated such an etymology (see *CD.*, p. 101, col. 2, note).—**44**, 5/6 a-ṭir-ti (a-ru) etc., is Semitic as I shall show in my supplemental volume.—10 ff. I cannot agree to Prince’s treatment of as(š)akku; but reserve further discussion for another time.

B, pp. 46–67.

47. Prince’s explanation of bantu V 37 c 48 is very good indeed, much better than the one proposed, *e. g.*, in my own *Dictionary*, p. 175, col. 1.—**48**, 4 (from below), read 7791 not 7761. Instead of of Rammân I would read here ^{11u}Adad.—**50**, 1 xīšu is explained by Jensen, *KB.*, Vol. VI (1), pp. 361, 362 as “Laube, Baldachin.”—14: Does pexû, Piel puxxû (ša sinništi) really mean “to open”? As a rule it is explained as “to close.” Besides this we must read here not puxxû, but puxxu (יִפְאֻ), which Delitzsch, *Hurb.*, p. 516, explains as: “wahrscheinlich ein Weib vergewaltigen.” Another view is presented in *CD.*, p. 799, col. 2. II 38 f 6 reads dalû ša-pil-ti, not ša ša-pil-ti. The author’s explanation of this passage: “draw water (seed) from the womb, viz., cause conception” is not quite transparent.—**51**. Speaking of the Bal-meanings, the author says, l. 7: “Finally we have bal =

'cross over,' 'break a way across' = ebêru, from which oddly enough we have turgumannu 'interpreter,' one who over-sets(!)." Is turgumannu then derived from eberu? The reviewer assumes that Prince's derivation is based only on the idea underlying ebêru — balaggu, "cry of woe" (also **87**, below). But what about Jensen, *KB.*, Vol. VI (1) 443, 520 and Aram. 𐎶𐎵𐎶, "a kettle-drum?" — **52**, 8/9 Why takšîru, "decision," when tagšîru, "strength" (✓gašaru) suits so much better?—17 read V 39 (not 38) c 21.—Against the interpretation of banda as "strong," advocated also by Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. I, p. 89 see Meissner, *Berl. Philol. Wochenschrift*, 1905, col. 1442.—1. 3 from below, read 1507 not 1537; xabzabbu is usually read kirçappu.—**54**, No. 4. Does Prince mean to say that bitrû is a derivative of barâru, "to shine," because both have the same ideograms? Were the coiners of the hodge-podge Sumerian good enough philologists for us to accept their etymological vagaries? We naturally assume that the author considers it a pun. Burru, on the other hand, is more likely a derivative from barâru, than a Sumerian loan word.—**55**, **56**, Unless barbaru, leopard (Jensen), or tiger (Zimmern) is borrowed from the Sumerian it has no place in this list.—**56**, 2 Bar(?)—gal=par—zi—lu, V 30 a—b 51, Brûnnow 1924, is mentioned together with kaspu, xurâçu, çarpu, anaku (? , lead) and is, undoubtedly, simply an unusual spelling of parzillu. Prince says: In R. 8 (= Reisner, *Hymnen*, 8) this combination = "shorn, said of sheep." But does this combination in R. 8 justify its application to V 30 a—b 51? To be sure, we have LU(=UDU) maš(s, bar?)—gal—lum = ŠU (*i. e.*, mašgallu) = lax(ud?)—ri; see Pinches, *PSBA.*, 1896, p. 251.—10 ka—bu—u, II 38 g—h 27 is merely a defective spelling for qabû, not a "pun on qabû." —15. II 57 b 14 read ^{11at} A—a (not Malik) ša ku—ni—e.—16 For baçit see also *CD.*, p. 818 s. v. pêçû.—**57**, **58**. I doubt whether the author's interpretation of bi—dar(ib)—ru—u as "joy" will be accepted by most assyriologists. See *CD.*, 146 and compare perhaps T. A. (Berlin) 18 rev. 11, 12 one bi—ib—ru kaspi: some ornament of silver.—**59**, 3 The reading of billudû has years ago been determined by Sp II 265 a, no. xiii, 3. bi—il—lu—di—e i—li (see *CD.*, p. 355, col. 2).—3 (end). I can scarcely agree to the explanation of ni—pi—'i eqli, II 11 e—f 73 = Haupt, *ASKT.*, p. 53. It is followed by BIR=çi—ib(p)—tu, "wealth, property." See also *CD.*, p. 634, col. 2. K 4216 rev. we have

(šam) ni-bi-'i eqli followed by (šam) inib eqli.—**61**, 22 On eššēpu see *KB.*, Vol. VI (1), p. 538; Hommel in Hastings, *Dict. of the Bible*, Vol. I, p. 214 = "owl."—**62**, 16 ff. From šaqû, we would naturally expect a form šuqîtu, not šuqtû.¹⁶—**65** (end). On xardatu, V 36 *d-f* 40, 41, etc., see *KB.*, Vol. VI (1), p. 451 = "leckere Speise, Backwerk;" and nixlu = "Brot aus durchgesiebttem Mehl."—**66**, 1. The original meaning "hole" for xurxummatu is still to be seen in Br. Mus. 22446, 25, "when the oil xu-ur-xu-ma-tum id-di-a-am (*ZA.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 225-27: "offene, runde Löcher"); see also K 9 obv. 27.—4. read qiddatu rather than kiddatu.—6. nixatpûtum is from xatâpu.—7. nixlu, nuxxulu, see above, under xardatu.—14 ff. šêrû and the three šilû are very questionable; see *CD.*, pp. 1036, col. 2 and 1109 col. 2.—17-8. I had thought that šûtuqu and šutêtuqu meant "advanced," *i. e.*, "renowned, magnificent," or the like. Does Prince's interpretation, "brought down," suit, *e. g.*, K 11152, 1 where Ištar is called in-nin-na-at ilâni šu-tu-ga-at be-li-e-ti. Of course, the author himself is not quite convinced of the correctness of his interpretation.

D, pp. 67-92.

68, 12. II 26 *c-d* 51 is usually read našû ša al-mat (Prince: lat)-ti.—14. I wonder whether the meaning "snare" for pitnu can be established; and if so, what would be the pitnu gal-la-bi, etc.?—15. ša-xa-tu is explained by Thompson, *Devils*, Vol. II, p. 172 as "vicinity."—27 Da-ab. The reference (Brünnow) 10693 is to V 41 *a-b* 62; accordingly change the statement in l. 3 of this section.—**69**, 7 naqâru ša elippi, II 26 No. 1 (add.) *e-f* 8 is, of course, a gloss to IV² 22 *a* 31, 32 (end) where with Thompson read i-na[-qar!]; see *Brit. Texts*, Pt. XVII, pl. 25, ll. 32, 33.—**70**, 1. For dakkanni see also *CD.*, p. 1158 col. 1 (where read tak-kan); tak-kan is the gloss to the ideogram consisting of K I (= place?) + manzazu. S^b 267 (gi-iš-gal); *CD.*, p. 562, cols. 1, 2. Now in K 3449 *a*, rev. 9, we find u-kin-ma gi-is-gal-la-ša, translated by Jensen, *KB.*, Vol. VI (1), p. 33; 350: "dann bestimmte er dessen (*i. e.*, of the ^{kakkab} qašta) Platz." In very similar connection we find *KB.*, Vol. VI (1), p. 30, ll. 1 and 8 ubaššim man-za-za; man-za-az ^{ilu} Bêl u ^{ilu} Ê-a u-k[i]n

¹⁶ The author writes to me on this point: "Yet šuqtû might be an unusual form with long vowel at the end."

it-ti-šu. We also find giš (or gis? *Hwb.*, p. 343, col. 1) -gal, lu=ku-us-su-u, which, perhaps, would indicate a mistake on the part of the scribe in K 3449 of *is* for *iš*. To this gišgal(lu) may perhaps also belong K 1014 obv., l. 2 (end) = Harper, *BAL.*, 457, where bit-gišgal-lu corresponds to bit danīni in l. 1. And what about IV² 6, col. vi, ll. 15, 16, where instead of the usual reading amēlu šu-u we could read amēlu gišgallu-u? Now, what might be the meaning of gisgallu? I believe that the gloss tak-kan gives us the clue for it. For, instead of tak-kan, I would read par-kan (against my own *Dictionary*, p. 1158, col. 1) and connect it with parkannu-“bolt,” a word occurring in Zimmern, *Šurpu*, viii, 59, and probably also in *KB.*, Vol. VI (1), p. 66, col. 3, l. 29. The gloss par-kan is, of course, purely Semitic from ܡܪܟܢ; and, if so, this section belongs not into this *Lexicon*.—**71**, 7 (from below). I doubt very much whether litû (and its synonym) sa-la-tum mean “offspring.”—**72**, 19 read Muss-Arnolt, 640 (not 440) *b*.—**74**. My early statement concerning akû and di-el-lu, *CD.*, p. 33, col. 1, is, of course, untenable. See *e. g.*, p. 359 s. v. ܐܪܟܠܘ (so read for Prince’s dimgullu) and further in my supplemental volume.¹⁷—**76**, 3/4 kiççu (kīsu?) in kis(ç) libbi according to Kūchler, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der assyrisch-babyl. Medizin*, p. 65, means: “Leibschneiden,” probably “colic,” while Thompson, *Devils*, Vol. II, p. 37, explains it as “heartache.”—14 narābu probably “to break.”—**78**, 17 read *JAOS.* (not *AJSL*), XXIV, 127.—**78**, 22, 23. Under article sisitu, *CD.*, p. 775, col. 2, I stated: “KB VI (1), 364 ikkilla, Geschrei oder Geheul;” thus making Jensen responsible for this interpretation, who, I assume, considered sisitum a variant to šisitum (ܫܝܫܐܘ) and ši-ki-tum from šaqû, “be high” (also said of the voice), *i. e.*, “high pitch” (of voice). P. 1100, col. 1 of *CD.*, on the other hand, I state that šiqitum means probably “irrigation.” The sisitu of K 2148, col. iii 29 (see Thompson, *Devils*, Vol. II, p. 153) must, of course, mean something else.—**80**, 7 (from below). Sb 337 is perhaps rather šapçu (not šabçu) = “arrogant, haughty, fiery of temperament” (!)—**81**, 5 (from below), read of course niqilpû (!) and see *CD.*, pp. 913, 914, ܢܝܩܝܠܦܘ.

¹⁷ I beg leave to state, in this connection, that in my supplemental volume, comprising some 600 pages in print, at least one-third will be given to the revision of the letter ܢ inasmuch as this letter calls for more corrections than the remainder of the alphabet, and because more new material has been collected for its reconstruction than for the other letters.

6. nibiru scarcely "some part of a ship," but = "a ferry boat," the crossing in which was always more or less dangerous.—**82**, 1/2, šu-tuq-qu, preceded by e-li, with same ideogram; see Meissner, *Supplement*, p. 99, col. 2, who quotes **83**, 11–18, 1332 IV 7 DIR=ša-ta-qu.—**83**, 5 Zimmern, *ZDMG.*, Vol. LVIII, p. 952, proposes to read $\dagger(\text{𐎶})\text{axâdu}$.—kamârum ša šuribu indicates that kamâru in the meaning of "throw, strike down," is used of the šuribu; qanâqu ša ša-bi-e, says that qanâqu is also used in the meaning of šabû (see *CD.*, p. 999, col. 2, end).—**84**, 4 (from below) nam-qu. *ZA.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 193, states that *nam* has also the value *d(t)um*, thus read dum-qu.—**85**, 15 elepu ša içi scarcely means "join together, said of wood," but rather "to grow, said of wood."—**86**, 4 temêru is a verb rather than a noun.—12. Against reading mûlû (mu-lu) ša rêši, see Brünnow, 11244, who quotes Delitzsch in Zimmern, *Busspsalmen*, p. 82 *rm* 1.—**87**, 25. nabâçu is of course only a by-form to napâçu.—29. tarâku ša qinnazi, "tear a fetter in two," *Hwb.*, p. 714 (! not 615). I doubt this very much. tarâku means also "beat, strike;" and tarâku ša qi-na-zi, V 19 *c-d* 27 = "beat with a whip;" it is followed by ma-xa-çu (!). See also Jensen, *KB.*, Vol. VI (1) p. 450; while Thompson, *Devils*, Vol. I, p. 136, 77: "hold back some animal with a halter."—qinâzu, by the way, is explained in V 47 *a* 61 by ⁽¹⁹⁾d(t)ax-ri. Instead of *-ri*, I assume *-xu*, a mistake very easily explained, and read is(ç)daxxu, connecting it with išdaxxu, the *s* instead of š perhaps on account of the following dental. Now in Nimrod-Epic, Tablet VI, l. 54, we read iš-dax-xa ziq-ti u dir-ra-ta tal-ti-meš-šu; and in V 32 *a-b* 47, we have man-na-su=il (>iš!)-dax-xu, followed by tam-ša-ru=dir-ra-tum, evidently all synonyms; thus qinâzu=dirratum, "whip."—**88**, 9. The explanation of çumbu, *S^c* 299 = "finger," is very good and will no doubt be accepted generally.

E, pp. 92–109

The interpretation of the ideogram for bamâtu (**95**, 17, 18) is most acceptable; as well as that of ša-a-mu, V 39 *e-f* 70 (**98**, 7–8).—**98**, 11. The gloss in II 39 *e* 7 clearly and distinctly reads e-ba not e-la.—17. There is no proof that il-mi in V 22 *d* 36 is Sumerian IL-MI.—**101**, 8 šapçu is "might, power, highness;" šipçu "potentate, prince, ruler;" also used as an adjective:

"proud, haughty."—**102**, 24ff. Fossey, *Contribution*, pp. 90, 91, does not mention ENGUR = apsû (= *Brit. Texts*, Vol. XII, pl. 26).—**104**, 5, read 5383 not 15383. The erešû treated there is, undoubtedly, a noun not a verb.—For armannu, Brünnow, 5403, the author should not have referred to my article ^(sam) armannu "carrot," but to the one preceding it: armannu, "sweet odor, incense, perfume." On the ideogram see now Johns in *PSBA.*, 1905, p. 35.—24. taqribtu, "lamentation," so Prince following Brünnow, 11618; read takkaltu (see *CD.*, p. 1157, col. 1).—**109**, 20. Where does xadâdu, "be strong," occur?

This review had been in type for some days when the writer received a copy of the *Revue sémitique*, April, 1906, containing, on pp. 184, 185, the learned editor's drastic criticism of Prince's work, in which he gives expression to his annoyance of the author's manner of setting forth what is practically a new theory regarding the Sumerian problem. Perhaps the chief cause of offense to the distinguished French scholar is Prince's unfortunate use of the term "the constantly decreasing Halévyan school of Jewish Chauvinism," on p. iii of his preface.¹⁸ Professor Prince has assured the reviewer that he merely meant by this expression "a mistaken sense of Jewish patriotism" which, he believes, has been the main spirit instigating the Halévyan idea that in Sumerian we have only a jargon based on Semitic ideas and invented only by Semites for ritual purposes. In answer to Halévy's objections to the table of phonetics, pp. x *sqq.*, it may be pointed out that every one of the sound-changes therein indicated has a parallel in some existing language. Halévy, for instance, rejects the equations: $B = G$ and $B = M$, yet in Yoruba there is a common sound sometimes represented by gb which is neither a b nor a hard g , but wavers between them both. That B can be $= M$ is seen in the Arabic dialectic pronunciation *Maalbek* for *Baalbek*. Furthermore, the interchange of n and a sibilant (Sum. $\check{s} = n$) occurs commonly between the Chinese dialects and has been duly noticed by Prince on p. xii. In short,

¹⁸ We can easily understand the feeling of provocation on the part of the venerable Nestor of Semitic studies in France at this more than unfortunate expression of Prince's; and we regret its occurrence all the more because Professor Halévy has always been most kindly disposed toward the reviewer's publications along Assyriological lines. See *Rev. sémit.*, Vols. III (1895) pp. 91, 92; XIV (1906), pp. 190, 191.

Prince's idea of Sumerian is really a connecting link between the extreme idea of the Halévyan school and the extreme idea of the opposing Sumerist school; *i. e.*, our author believes that the system was, originally, a language, but has been corrupted unconsciously by centuries of accretion into what is now little more than a Semitized idiom, the non-Semitic foundations of which, however, are still visible through the more or less opaque veil of Semitic influences in which they are shrouded.

A MANDÆAN HYMN ON THE SOUL.

BY SCHULIM OCHSER,
Office Editor of the *Jewish Encyclopedia*.

Although many scholars have written on the lyrical poetry of the Mandæans, no specimens have as yet been given, despite the fact that Brandt has touched on "the exit of the soul" in his *Mandäische Religion*. This work, however, is general in character, and gives only a cursory view of the beliefs on this subject. To illustrate the Mandæan teachings concerning the soul, I have selected a hymn of thirty-six lines from the *Qolasta* (ed. Euting, p. 11*a*, l. 18 to p. 12*a*, l. 20), as a summary of the doctrines of their religion.

Going toward a river, the soul, in the poet's vision, meets Shitil, one of the first emanations, whom it urges to accompany it to receive baptism "in the name of life." When asked what witnesses it can bring to vouch for the good deeds which it has done in the body, it names the sun, the moon, and the everlasting fire, but it receives answer that all these will fail it, and that it can therefore have no witness for life eternal. Finally, however, it cites as witnesses the Jordan, the Peḥta, the Sundays, charitable deeds, the temples, and God himself. These are the true witnesses, who can give it entrance to the future world.

Though this brief fragment breaks off at this point, it affords a clear idea of the view of the future state of the soul according to the religion of the Mandæans.

I.

בְּשׁוּמָא דְחַיָּא !
מִן יֵאֲרֵדנָא סִילְקִית
בְּכֻנָּא דְנִישְׁמַאחָא פִיגִית
בְּכֻנָּא פִיגִית דְנִישְׁמַאחָא
דְבִאבּוֹן שִׁתִּיל מִיחְכְּאֲרִינָא
אֲמַרִילָא :
בְּהֵאֲיֹךְ אֲבּוֹן שִׁתִּיל
אֲסַגִּיא מִינְאִיֹּךְ לִיֵּאֲרֵדנָא
עוּ מֵאֲסַגִּינָא מִינְאִיֹּכִין לִיֵּאֲרֵדנָא !

מֵאֵן נִהְיָא עֲלֹאֵיכוֹן סֵאחֲדָא הָאֵדָא?
 דְּנִיָּא שְׁאֵמִישׁ עֲלֹאֵי־אֵן נִהְיָא בְּסֵאחֲדָא
 לֹא הוּא דְּבֵאִינָא
 וְלֹא הוּא דְּנִשְׁמַאֲת צִאבִּיא!
 שְׁאֵמִישׁ דְּאִמְאֲרִתִּין עֲלֵא
 קִאמִית, דְּנָא, הָאשִׁיךְ אֲרָאב
 שְׁאֵמִישׁ דְּאִמְאֲרִתִּין עֲלֵא
 שְׁאֵמִישׁ מִיבְטָאֵל בֹּאטִיל
 חִיבְטָאֵל בֹּאטִיל שְׁאֵמִישׁ
 וְסֵגֻדָּא מִיבְטָאֵל בֹּאטִילִיא

II.

מֵן יֵאֲרֻדְנָא סִילְקִית
 בְּכֹאנָא דְּנִשְׁמַאֲתָא פִּיגִית
 בְּכֹאנָא פִּיגִית דְּנִשְׁמַאֲתָא
 דְּבֹאבוֹן שִׁיתִּיל מִיחְכֵּאֲרִכִּיא
 אִמְרִילָא!
 בְּהֵאֲרֹךְ אֲבוֹן שִׁיתִּיל
 אִסְגִּיא מִינְאִי־אֵן לִיֵּאֲרֻדְנָא
 עוּ מֵאִסְגִּינָא מִינְאִי־כֵן לִיֵּאֲרֻדְנָא!
 מֵאֵן נִהְיָא עֲלֹאֵיכוֹן סֵאחֲדָא הָאֵדָא?
 דְּנִיָּא סִירָא עֲלֹאֵי־אֵן נִהְיָא בְּסֵאחֲדָא!
 לֹא הוּא דְּבֵאִינָא
 וְלֹא הוּא דְּנִשְׁמַאֲת צִאבִּיא!
 סִירָא דְּאִמְאֲרִתִּין עֲלֵא
 הָאשִׁיךְ, דְּנָא, קִאמִית אֲרָאב
 סִירָא דְּאִמְאֲרִתִּין עֲלֵא
 סִירָא מִיבְטָאֵל בֹּאטִיל
 מִיבְטָאֵל בֹּאטִיל סִירָא
 וְסֵגֻדָּא מִיבְטָאֵל בֹּאטִילִיא

III.

מֵן יֵאֲרֻדְנָא סִילְקִית
 בְּכֹאנָא דְּנִשְׁמַאֲתָא פִּיגִית
 בְּכֹאנָא פִּיגִית דְּנִשְׁמַאֲתָא
 דְּבֹאבוֹן שִׁיתִּיל מִיחְכֵּאֲרִכִּיא
 אִמְרִילָא!
 בְּהֵאֲרֹךְ אֲבוֹן שִׁיתִּיל
 אִסְגִּיא מִינְאִי־אֵן לִיֵּאֲרֻדְנָא
 עוּ מֵאִסְגִּינָא מִינְאִי־כֵן לִיֵּאֲרֻדְנָא

מָאן נִיהוּיָא עֲלֹאֲוֵיכִין סֶאֱחֵדָא הָאדָא ?
 דִּיאֶקִיד נֹרָא עֲלֹאֲוֵיכִין נִיהוּיָא בִסְאֶחֱדִיא !
 לֹא הוּא דְבֵאִינָא
 וְלֹא הוּא דְנִישְמַתָּא צִאבִיָא !
 נֹרָא דְאִמְאֲרִתִּין עֲלָא
 זִיבְנָא בְיוֹמָא אֲבֵדָא
 נֹרָא דְאִמְאֲרִתִּין עֲלָא
 נֹרָא תִיבְטָאֵל בִּאֲטִיל
 תִיבְטָאֵל בִּאֲטִיל נֹרָא
 וְסֶגְגֵדָא מִיבְטָאֵל בִּאֲטִילָא

IV.

מִן יֵאֵדְנָא סִלְקִית
 בְּכֹאנָא דְנִישְמַתָּא פִיגִית
 בְּכֹאנָא פִיגִית דְנִישְמַתָּא
 דְבִאבּוֹן שִׁתִּיל מִיתְכֹאֲרִיָא
 אֲמַרִילָא :
 בְּחֵאֲרֵךְ אֲבּוֹן שִׁתִּיל
 אֲסַגִּיא מִינְאִיָאן לִיֵאֵדְנָא
 עוּ מֵאֲסַגִּיָא מִינְאִיָּכּוֹן לִיֵאֵדְנָא
 מָאן נִיהוּיָא עֲלֹאֲוֵיכִין סֶאֱחֵדָא ?
 יֵאֵדְנָא וְתִרִין כִּפְפָא עֲלֹאֲוֵיכִין נִיהוּיָא בִסְאֶחֱדִיא
 פִּיהֶתָא וְכוּשְטָא וּמֵאֲמִבּוּגָא עֲלֹאֲוֵיכִין נִיהוּיָא בִסְאֶחֱדִיא
 הָאֲבִשְׂאֲבָא וְכֹאנָא דְזִידְקָא עֲלֹאֲוֵיכִין נִיהוּיָא בִסְאֶחֱדִיא
 מֵאֲשַׁכְנָא וּמֵאֲסַגִּידְנָאֲבָא עֲלֹאֲוֵיכִין נִיהוּיָא בִסְאֶחֱדִיא
 זִידְקָא דְבִכְאֶפְאִיָאן עֲלֹאֲוֵיכִין נִיהוּיָא בִסְאֶחֱדִיא
 אֲבּוֹן דְּבִרִישְׂאִיָאן עֲלֹאֲוֵיכִין נִיהוּיָא בִסְאֶחֱדִיא
 הָאֲזִין הוּא דְבֵאִינָא
 הָאֲזִין נִישְמַתָּא דְצִאבִיָא
 כְּדָ עֲסֹאֵק לְבֵית חַיָּא, וְעִיאֲסַגִּיא לְדֹאֲוֵרָא תֹאקְנָא
 כְּדָ נִישְׂאִילֻנְאָן דְחַיָּא נִתּוֹן סֶאֱחֵדִיא נִסְיִתְהוֹן
 סֶאֱחֵדִיא הִינוֹן דְכוּשְטָא, וְשִׁאֲרִירָא כּוֹל דְאֲמַרִיא !
 וְחַיָּא זֹאכִין

I.

In the name of life!
 From the Jordan I ascended,
 The primal form of the soul I met;
 I met the primal form of the soul,
 Which is inclosed in our father Shitil;
 I spake to him:

By thy life, O Father Shitil,
 Go thou with us unto the Jordan,
 Or I shall go with you unto the Jordan!
 Will there be a witness with you?
 The setting sun shall testify for us.
 It is not this which I desire,
 Nor is it this which doth baptize the soul.
 The sun of which thou speakest
 Arose, set, it grew dark, the evening came on;
 The sun of which thou speakest,
 The sun is destroyed,
 Destroyed is the sun,
 And they who worship him are annihilated.

II.

From the Jordan I ascended,
 The primal form of the soul I met;
 I met the primal form of the soul,
 Which is inclosed in our father Shitil;
 I spake to him:
 By thy life, O Father Shitil,
 Go thou with us unto the Jordan,
 Or I shall go with you unto the Jordan!
 Will there be a witness with you?
 The setting moon shall testify for us.
 It is not this which I desire,
 Nor is it this which doth baptize the soul.
 The moon of which thou speakest,
 It grew dark, set, arose, the evening came on;
 The moon of which thou speakest,
 The moon is destroyed,
 Destroyed is the moon,
 And they who worship it are annihilated.

III.

From the Jordan I ascended,
 The primal form of the soul I met;
 I met the primal form of the soul,
 Which is inclosed in our father Shitil;
 I spake to him:
 By thy life, O Father Shitil,
 Go thou with us unto the Jordan,
 Or I shall go with you unto the Jordan!
 Will there be a witness with you?
 The blazing fire shall testify for us.
 It is not this which I desire,
 Nor is it this which doth baptize the soul.

The fire of which thou speakest
 Will perish some time in the day.
 The fire of which thou speakest,
 The fire is dead,
 Dead is the fire,
 And they who worship it are annihilated.

IV.

From the Jordan I ascended,
 The primal form of the soul I met;
 I met the primal form of the soul,
 Which is inclosed in our father Shitil;
 I spake to him:
 By thy life, O Father Shitil,
 Go thou with us unto the Jordan,
 Or I shall go with you unto the Jordan!
 Will there be witnesses with you?
 The Jordan and its two banks will testify for us,
 The Peḥta and Kushta and Mambuga will testify for us,
 Sundays and the foundations of almsgiving will testify for us,
 The dwelling and the house in which we thrive will testify for us,
 The almsgiving from our hands will testify for us,
 Our father, who standeth at our head, will testify for us.
 It is this which we desire,
 And it is this which doth baptize our soul.
 And when I ascend to the house of the life, and go to the abode of
 glory,
 And when I am asked what witnesses of life shall testify for us,
 Then there are witnesses of truth, and true is all they say!
 And life is victorious. . . .

NOTES.

כאנא "base, trunk," one of the sporadic ancient words in Mandæan with a change of meaning (see Nöldeke, *Mandaäische Grammatik*, xxviii).

כושטא "justice," form **فَعَلَ** instead of **קושטא** (Nöldeke, *loc. cit.*, 39, 104). In Mandæan the word has become restricted in meaning to religious ceremonies, and may accordingly be compared for connotation with the Assyrian "to take the hands of Bel" (see Brandt, *Mandaäische Religion*, 200, 201).

פיתחא "host, holy wafer," metathesis instead of **פִתְחָא**. In Mandæan this word means only the abode of glory (see Levy, *Wörterbuch*, s. v. **פיתחא**, Sidra Rabba, ed. Petermann, p. 8, 8).

מאמבונא "weave," but the meaning is the wine belonging to the church service. **מַמְבִּנָא** = **מַמְבִּנָא** (see Brandt, *loc. cit.*, 109, 110).

פִּינִית perfect first person of the Pe'al of **פִּנֵּה** "to meet," which becomes **בִּנֵּה** in Mandæan by assimilation of **נ** to the following **פ**.

בארינא active participle of the Pe'al of the tert. yod **בָּרַח**, "to look out, implore," plus the pronoun of the first person (see Nöldeke, *loc. cit.*, 257, 259).

אראב perfect of the Pe'al of **פִּרְעָה** "evening comes on." It is always written with **א** instead of **ע** (Nöldeke, *loc. cit.*, 241).

SOME CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE INTERPRETATION OF THE SONG OF SONGS.

SUGGESTED BY TRAVEL IN PALESTINE.

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The study of the Song of Songs has received, during the last few years, various valuable contributions from American and European scholars. A careful study of the Song of Songs, supplemented by personal observations made in Palestine, during almost three years' residence, has convinced me that much remains still to be done before we shall have disentangled the mystery of the text and meaning of this collection of charming *Volkslieder*.

My study has led me to regard the Song of Songs as a combination of a northern and southern recension of songs, originating in southern Palestine, more especially around Jerusalem.¹ The weaving-together has naturally been casual and accidental, so that it is not very difficult to separate the foreign elements—*i. e.*, those which have come from the north—from those which are original and southern. These northern elements are, briefly, as follows:

1. The idea of bridegroom and bride being regarded as king and queen. This idea is unknown in southern Palestine, especially in and around Jerusalem, as repeated inquiries in various districts have assured me. It is, however, familiar in northern Palestine and Syria.

2. The sword-dance. This is equally unknown in southern Palestine as executed by the bride. It is, as I had often occasion to witness, performed by the male guests. However, in the north it is executed by the bride herself, as also among the Bedu who live east of the Jordan.

3. The allusion to Damascus (7:5) and to the Lebanon, at a time when neither Damascus nor the Lebanon had any interest for the Jews, which appears strange in a song which is regarded

¹ I hope to present my theory in detail at an early date.

as originating in southern Palestine. The Lebanon is barely mentioned in late biblical literature or even apocryphal writings, except when older events are referred to.

Other arguments which point to a double recension are:

1. Distinct references to Jerusalem, Zion, and other southern Palestinian localities, which place us in the atmosphere of a different district.

2. A great number of doublets, which can be explained only by the fusion of two recensions of song into the Song of Songs.

3. The presence of the name "Solomon" in the song. This is best explained as being due to the fact that the people, to whom the songs came back from the north containing specific allusions to northern Syrian wedding customs which they did not understand, interpreted "king" as referring to Solomon.

4. The reference to the threshing-sledge which clearly points to a northern origin. While they are in everyday use in the Lebanon district, I have seen none used in southern Palestine, though I have watched the harvest in many villages, where, as it seemed, they would have been a decided saving of labor. Wherever found, they are regarded as an importation from the north. At Er-Ramleh in the Great Plain, I have seen not fewer than sixteen head of cattle at work on one heap treading out the grain.

The Greek manuscript to which reference is made is found in the Library of the Greek Patriarchate in Jerusalem. It was written by Laurentius Archiepiscopus Sina between the years 1593 and 1617. It has 122 leaves, paper, size 20 x 15 cm. cursive script.

1:3, 4. These two verses are a song of the women addressed to the bridegroom. The difficulty which vs. 3 presents has been obviated by Siegfried's emendation שִׁינֹרֶק "which has been poured out" for תֹּרֶק. However, the change of person, vs. 4a, is perplexing. The speaker cannot be, in view of vs. 4c, d, a single individual, nor can the phrase "let us run" refer only to the bride and groom, as in that case lines c and d could not be explained. I propose to read מִשְׁכְּנֵנוּ "draw us" instead of מִשְׁכְּנֵי "draw me." Lines b and e are irrelevant and later insertions. The poem has two stanzas of three lines each:

3. Lovely in (their) fragrance are thy oils,
Ointment *which has been poured out* is thy name.
Therefore do the young women love thee.

- 4, *a.* Draw *us* after thee, let us run.
c. We will exult and rejoice in thee.
d. We will praise thy love more than wine.

1:6. שֶׁחֲרָרְתָּ שְׁאֵנִי is an explanatory gloss based upon vs. 5*a*.

1:12. הַבִּלְקָה has been substituted for an original דֹרֵי.

1:13. Instead of a bag of myrrh the young women of Palestine carry a small bunch of fragrant herbs inside the dress. On one occasion a young woman, seeking to show some kindly attention to my wife, drew a handful of sweet-smelling herbs from her bosom and offered it to her. For this purpose they employ more especially carnations, rosemary, and above all sweet basil.

1:17. Read פְּרָחִים "blossoms" for בְּרוֹתִים. For רֹהֲטָנִי read with Siegfried and some MSS רֹהֲטָנִי = our flooring. The picture here is of a scene out-of-doors (*cf.* 1:16), and not indoors. The "beams of our house" are the overarching branches of cedars or cypresses, the green couch of vs. 16 is the flooring of vs. 17, *i. e.*, the flower-studded grass which has sprung up in this sheltered place; except to one who has actually seen it, the vivid wealth of coloring in such a spot is hardly conceivable. The speaker—a child of nature—conceives of herself as a flower among the flowers (*cf.* 2:1). To regard this as the description of a house is contrary to vs. 16; that of a bed (Budde) is not merely contrary to the sense of the passage, but to oriental life and custom, for even at the present day, although in certain wealthy harems bedsteads are to be seen, they are a modern introduction, and rather for ornament than use. I am reminded, by the interpretation of vs. 17 as "bed" or "bedstead," of an occasion when some lantern-slides, illustrative of Bible scenes, were exhibited at a religious meeting in Jerusalem, one of which, that of the flight of the holy family to Egypt, was greeted with laughter and cries of: "Fancy Sitti Miryam riding on a side-saddle!"

17. The beams of our house are cedars,
Our flooring is of flowers.

2:1. הַבְּצִלָּה cannot be the *colchicum*, which does not blossom in early spring in the plain of Sharon (*cf.* Post, *Flora of Syria, Palestine and Sinai*, pp. 808 *sq.*). It is perhaps the *crocus vitiellinus*, which blossoms from December to February (*cf.* Post, *op. cit.*, p. 772).

2:9. Read אֵן לֶאֱיִל "or a stag," in accordance with MSS. 442

ἢ ἐλάφῳ, instead of אִזְּ לַעֲפָר הָאֵילִים. If in one part of the line the lover is compared to a grown animal, why in the next clause should he be spoken of as the young of an animal? The prominent idea (*cf.* vs. 8) is that of the swiftness and strength of early maturity. Emend 2:17 in conformity with the above.

3:2. Omit נָא with LXX A. Delete בְּשׁוֹקִים וּבְרֵהָבוֹת with MSS. 370 as a later expansion suggested by בָּעִיר. The clause בְּשִׁתִּי וְלֹא מִצֵּאתִי is a gloss from 5:6; it anticipates the sequel.

3:9. The poem 3:6-11, belonging to the Syrian or northern recension, consists of six stanzas alternately of four and three lines each. Vs. 9 has, however, only two lines according to the MT. In view of vs. 7 *b, c*, the two lines of which form a synthetic parallelism, it seems to me that the lost member of vs. 9 formed a similar parallel. Perhaps something like בֵּן הָאֲרָזִים הַבְּהָרִים "from the choice cedars," must be read as third line.

3:10. For תּוֹכֹךְ read הוֹדֶךְ "its ornament" (*cf.* Zech. 6:13; 10:3), the pronoun referring to the seat. Line *d* is meaningless "paved by love," even if we explain אֶהְבָּה (with König, *Lehrgebäude*, III, 332 t. 107) as meaning "love on the part of the daughters of Jerusalem." Graetz, Siegfried, *et al.* consider אֶהְבָּה miswritten for הַבָּנִים "ebony" (Ezek. 17:15 Qeri). But this does not help us much. According to vs. 9, the palanquin is made of the woods of Lebanon, which do not include ebony. The emendation of Graetz is due to the fact that he and his followers laid stress upon the description of the palanquin, and not on its still more precious contents. The true value of the אֶפְרִיֹן is that it conveys the far more precious bridegroom. Around this idea the poem centers and therefore I propose to read יִצְפֵּן מִבְּנוֹת וּצֹפָה אֶהְבָּה "it hides my beloved," instead of אֶהְבָּה. מִמֶּנּוּ is an early corruption of an original מִמֶּנּוּ "from us." יְרוּשָׁלַם is an insertion due to the southern recension of this song. Vss. 9 and 10 therefore read:

9. A palanquin made for himself the king
From the wood of the Lebanon,
From the choice cedars.

10. Its columns he made of silver,
Its banisters of gold.
Its seat, purple is its ornament.
It hides my beloved from us.

3:11. *בנות ציון* makes the line too long, and is an interpolation in accordance with the phrase *מבנות ירושלם* of vs. 10.

4:2. The description of the shining whiteness of the maiden's teeth is marred by the introduction of an entirely foreign and irrelevant idea. The whiteness of the wool of newly shorn sheep which have just come from the brook where they have been washed is a very fitting comparison, but what does the phrase, "which all of them cast twins, and there is none of them without young," mean in this connection, as the *tertium comparationis* is the whiteness! The reference to sheep would easily lend itself to such an expansion, and it can be due only to a glossator.

4:3. The translation, "like a split of the pomegranate is thy temple" (Budde, Siegfried, *et. al.*), suggests to me little more than a gash in the forehead of the unfortunate maiden. *פלה* cannot have here the meaning "piece," as RV. As we have in vss. 2 and 3a a description of the teeth and lips, the reference to the temples is perhaps out of place. However, the split in the pomegranate, showing its round fruit, may well be likened to the opened lips showing the rows of pearly teeth. Vs. 3b may have been intended to give us the complete image in detail described in vss. 2 and 3a. In accordance with this view, I propose to read *בְּרִמְוֹן* instead of *הֶרְמוֹן*, delete *וְרִקְתָּהּ*, and divide the verse at *שִׁפְחֹתֶיהָ*. The phrase "from behind thy veil" is here and in vs. 1 a gloss (Siegfried). Vss. 2 and 3 read as emended:

2. Thy teeth are like a herd newly shorn,
Which have just come out of the water.
3. Like a thread of crimson are thy lips,
And thy mouth is lovely like a split in a pomegranate.

4:4. The difficulty of understanding this verse was felt by the early translators, who rendered the phrase *בְּנוֹי לְחַפְצֹת* variously. The import of the first line seems to me to have been misunderstood. In harmony with the beautiful features is the well-set neck of the maiden, fittingly compared to the stately and graceful tower of David. The word *בְּנוֹי* is perhaps a corruption of *בֵּין* "between," and the inexplicable word *לְחַפְצֹת* may have taken the place of an original *צִירְתֶּיהָ* "thy necklaces;" cf. vs. 9. This completes a picture which is exactly parallel to that of the preceding line. As the tower of David gains in appearance by the comparative unimportance of the walls on either side, so the

maiden's neck may be said to gain by the two silver chains which are attached to the headdress of the bride, and fall beside the cheeks, fastening below the chin. As the poem describes the figure of the maiden, vs. 4*b*, *c* is irrelevant. The lines being descriptive of armor, seem to me to be an expansion of a mental picture of the "tower of David." The second line of vs. 4 is vs. 5, which is only one line long.

4:5. As the breasts are never referred to as *two*, but simply as *breasts* (*e. g.*, 1:13 [7:8]; 7:9; 8:10), except 7:4, which is a doublet of 4:5, nor the other members of the body which are in pairs specified as such by the addition of the number *two* (*e. g.*, lips, 4:3, 11; 5:13; cheeks, 1:10; 5:13; shanks, 5:15; feet, 5:3; hands, 5:5, 14; eyes, 1:15; 4:1; 5:12; 6:5; 7:5; hips, 7:2), I delete on the same analogy the tautological שְׁנֵי before שְׁתֵּי and also before עֶצְרִים. The reconstructed verse reads:

Vs. 4*a*. Like the tower of David is thy neck *between thy necklaces*.

Vs. 5. Thy breasts are like young twins of the gazelle, feeding among *anemones*.²

4:12. The change of גַּל into גֶּן (LXX, Graetz, Budde, Siegfried) does not improve the verse. It is more conceivable that the second גֶּן is due to a scribal error. This would give us:

A closed garden is my sister, bride,
A spring of water sealed.

4:13. רִמּוֹנִים = "pomegranates," fruits and not trees; *cf.* 4:3. This reference to the maiden's form is of a kind frequently met with in the popular songs of today; *e. g.*, "Thy breasts are pomegranates of the Dimas" (*unhudak rummām ad-dīmās*). "Precious fruits" must stand in apposition to pomegranates, therefore delete עֵם נְרָדִים. עֶצְרִים עֵם נְרָדִים looks too much like the preceding phrase, and seems to be due to an incorrect dittography, moreover, the word נֶרְדֶּה with which vs. 14 begins seems to be in some measure responsible for this error. We should perhaps take the words "spikenard and saffron" of vs. 14 to vs. 13, so that the emended verse reads:

Thy sprouts are a garden of pomegranates,
Precious fruits, Spikenard and Saffron.

Vs. 14, which is too long, would also gain in metre by this simple change. Finally the clause עֵם נְרָדִים is omitted in MS. 442.

² For the explanation of this word see 5:13.

4:14. This verse is still unusually long (see above). Vss. 12, 13, 15, and 16 have only two lines to the verse. As the fragrant herbs are mentioned without any further qualification of genus, the additional words, "with all the trees," before "frankincense," are out of keeping with the rest, and seem to be due to incorrect dittography of vs. 14*b*β. Add the conjunction before מֵר.

Calamus and cinnamon, frankincense and myrrh
And aloes with all the chief spices.

5:4. הִמָּה has not the meaning of "feeling compassion," but rather that of "being heated;" cf. הִמָּה שֶׁכֶּר "a heating drink" (Prov. 20:1), or the Talmudic הִמָּה "to desire, lust."

My inward parts lusted for him.

5:11. For תִּלְתָּלִים read גְּדִלִים "twisted, braided;" cf. תִּלְתָּלִים "plait, braid of hair." The Bedu beau still braids his tresses, allowing them to fall over the shoulder in front. The plaits are considered a great beauty, and are evidently intended here.

5:13. שִׁשְׁנִים is perhaps the *ranunculus asiaticus*. The scarlet anemone, moist with raindrops, is a fitting comparison for the fresh lips of the maiden.

Wazf on the Beloved (c. 6:10—7:1-6). The poem has four verses of four lines each. The beginning of this poem is perhaps found in 6:10, according to various commentators.

6:10. As the maiden appears here under the image of gentle and mild light, the phrase "unapproachable as warriors" seems the more unsuitable in this connection, and may be an insertion due to the Syrian recension of these songs, a reference to the sword-dance characteristic of Syria.

7:1 completes the first verse of the poem. Fearing that this beautiful apparition might disappear as suddenly as the glow of the sunrise in the morning sky, there is a cry "Stay! stay!" so that the eyes may satiate themselves with so fair a picture. Read therefore שָׁבִי "stay" (Bickel) instead of שׁוּבִי "return." The reading שׁוּבִי arose from the idea that this was the description of a sword-dance rather than of her personal charms. That the sword-dance is a notion foreign to the original song, and due to the Syrian recension, is further illustrated by the two last lines of this verse, which are connected with the preceding only by the irrelevant question: "What do you behold in the Shulamite?" The answer, כְּמַחֲלֵת הַמִּתְנִים "like a dance of two companies," is

a reminiscence of the sword-dance, although the text in its present form cannot be easily explained. One can get a general impression of the appearance of a person who is dancing, but such a minute description as we have in vss. 2 *sqq.* of one who is whirling in the mazes of the flashing sword-dance is impossible.

6:10 *a, b.* Who is she that looks down as the dawn,
Fair as the moon, clear as the shining sun?

7:1 *a, b.* *Stay! stay!* o Shulamite!
Stay! stay! that we may look at thee!

7:3. The comparison of the "belly" to the low, oblong heap of precious wheat upon a threshing-floor is a happy one. The image, however, is incomplete and marred by the next line: "surrounded by *anemones*." As the heaps of grain are shaped upon the threshing-floor, and are there only seen to the best advantage, it seems to me that a phrase like *אֲשֶׁר נִעְרְמָה עַל-הַגֶּרֶן* "which is heaped up upon the threshing-floor" stood originally in the place of *סִינֵה בְשׁוּשָׁנִים*. Besides, this line and vs. 4 are a doublet of 4:5, although the order of the lines has been reversed. The thus emended verse reads:

Thy navel is a round goblet;
It shall not lack wine.
Thy belly is a heap of wheat,
Which is heaped up upon the threshing-floor.

7:5. "Pools of Heshbon" are not mentioned elsewhere in the Old Testament, but the Pool of Hebron is known (2 Sam. 4:12), and its mention in this connection is more probable than that of Heshbon, a distant town in Moab. I therefore suggest that *הַשְּׁבֹן* is miswritten for *הַבְּרִיךְ*. Following the LXX *ὡς λιμναι*, it is better to read *כ* before *בִּרְכֹת*. This emendation commends itself in view of *כַּמְגִּדֵּל* in the following line. The phrase *עַל-יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּחַיִּיכֶיךָ* is an explanatory gloss. *הַלְבָנוֹן* belongs to the Syrian recension of the song, and is perhaps an early substitute for an original *דָּוִיד* (*cf.* 4:4). The phrase *צוּפָה צִיִּי דַמֶּשֶׂק* "turning unto Damascus" belongs likewise to the Syrian recension of the song, for to a man living in the Lebanon, Damascus would naturally be the ideal city; for the Jew living in Palestine, at the time when this song was composed, it had little or no interest. To complete the fourth line of this stanza, I take the first line of vs. 6 with it. This poem is incomplete. The emended verse reads:

- Vs. 5. Thy neck is like a tower of ivory.
 Thy eyes are *like* the pools of *Hebron*.
 Thy nose is like the tower of *David*.
 Vs. 6a. Thy head is above thee like Carmel.

7:9. הַגֶּפֶן, which is not necessary for the understanding of אֲשַׁכְּלוֹת (cf. 7:7; Isa. 65:8; Mic. 7:1), is perhaps better omitted for the sake of metre.

7:10. The word הָךְ seems to me scarcely consistent. The mouth can serve as a receptacle, a cup for wine, but can scarcely be regarded as the liquid itself. As, however, the spittle of the maiden is often compared by the lovers in popular Arabic poetry to something of exquisite taste, I propose to read רק "spittle" for הָךְ. לְדֹרִי conveys no clear meaning in this connection, and I believe that it has crept into this verse from vs. 11. For לְמִישְׁרִים I read לְמִתּוֹק "sweetly," taking it with הוֹלֵךְ to the next line. For שֹׁפְתִי read שֹׁפְתִי "my lips." The rest of the line I find incomprehensible. It is the lover who is tasting this "wine," and not those who are sleeping. The whole phrase is perhaps a marginal gloss.

Thy *spittle* is like the best wine,
 It goes down *sweetly* sliding over *my* lips.

7:12. The word כְּפָרִים is translated in the RV. by "villages;" so Budde; others take it to mean "cypress flowers" or "henna flowers." The first translation is not borne out by vs. 12, nor does it seem quite suitable in this connection. The translation "cyprus flower" or "henna flower" is derived from the Aramaic, but such a rendering of the Hebrew seems to me not wholly beyond question. The word in 4:13, *q. v.*, may be a scribal error, and I am inclined to read in this passage the more general term נִצְנִים "flowers" (cf. 2:12), which is more in harmony with the non-specific word שֹׁדֵה of l. *a*.

Come, my beloved, let us go to the field,
 Let us lodge among the *flowers*.

8:6b. The two lines of this half-verse have been variously explained, especially the word שְׁלֵהֲבַתִּיהָ, which offers the greatest difficulty. However, it seems to me that the problem may lie in another connection. In the first place, the verse may be divided at פֶּשְׁאוֹל, making אֲהַבָּה the subject of both verbs עָזָה and קָשָׁה, for which read תִּקְשָׁה. The subject of the second half of

the verse becomes קנאה, for which read קנאה "its passion" (*cf.* Gesenius-Kautzch, *Hebrew Grammar*²⁶, 1898, § 91*e*). רשפיה is perhaps miswritten for שרפה, unless we should read the imperfect תשרה "it burns." Read כרשפי after the analogy of כמות and כשאול. The ש of שלהבתיה is a dittography of the ש of אש, and the rest of the word perhaps an inaccurate dittography of אהבה from the line above. The verse thus emended reads:

For love is strong as death, *it is inflexible* as sheol,
Its passion burns like flames of fire.

Book Notices.

DER VULGÄRARABISCHE DIALEKT VON JERUSALEM.¹

Professor Löhr, *Mitarbeiter* at the *Deutsche Archäologische Institut*, 1903-4, at Jerusalem, has published, as a result of his year's residence, an Arabic grammar of the local dialect. It seems to have been no part of Professor Löhr's intention to make comparisons between the Jerusalem dialect and classical Arabic, but rather that, more immediately practical, of furnishing a grammar of use to the non-Arabist, as well as to the more advanced student; and this end he has most successfully achieved.

Far be it from me to dogmatize as to local pronunciation, for my three years' residence in Jerusalem served at least to convince me that this would be more than futile, so great are the variations occasioned by locality and social class. The oriental is conservative; each village has its own customs, its own language; even after one becomes fairly well versed in the Jerusalem speech, one is perplexed by new words, new uses, and a new pronunciation in some village, distant but an afternoon's walk. The lower-class population of Jerusalem is constantly recruited from the villages, and one soon learns to know from the form of a man's turban and a woman's veil whether they will say *kelb* or *chelb*, or whether the coin which they ask for their wares will be called an *asherah* or a *metalik*.

Among the upper classes one finds, even among those speaking, in some sort, the Jerusalem dialect, a tendency to conform to the literary Arabic, despising, for example, the use of the common form of negation, *m - - - sh* as being "fellah-ish."

This difficulty, of speaking with certainty on points of pronunciation, meets one upon the very threshold of the study, and I would venture to suggest certain alternatives even to Professor Löhr's account of the sounds of the alphabet.

(P. 2) So far as my experience goes, the letter ج (=ǧ) is by no means pronounced like the French *j* (as in *jour*, *jamais*), but always like the English *j* (as in *jar*, *jealous*) except of course in Egypt, and among the Bedu, where it has the hard sound of *g* (as in *get*). Cf. *gebel* = "a mountain;" in Egypt *gebel*.

(P. 4) Professor Löhr quotes Littmann as describing the difficult letter ع = *r* as pronounced with "a rolling noise," while he himself deprecates this, and gives it as "sounding between a *g* and an *r*." Either description is inadequate to describe the indescribable. The only efficient comparison is to the snarl of a camel!

¹ DER VULGÄRARABISCHE DIALEKT VON JERUSALEM. Nebst Texten und Wörterverzeichnis. Von Dr. Max Löhr. Giessen: Alfred Töppelmann, 1905.

(P. 5) ق is correctly alleged to be often pronounced like ع. It may be added that it is pronounced also like ع, as in *el-'uds*.

ك. Professor Löhr might add to the variants of this letter that of the hard *g* as used by the fellahin of Bethlehem—a habit for which they are much ridiculed. They say, for example, *gara duggano 'al-gâfir* for *kara dukkano 'al-kâfir* = “he let his shop to the unbeliever.”

I would point out in relation to pronouns (§ 7) that the suffix of the third person singular masculine is perhaps more commonly *o* than *û*, and that (§ 8) a form more usual than *tabâ'* is *btâ'*, fem. *btâ'at*, pl. *btâ'*. With suffixes we have the forms *btâ'i*, *btâ-'ak m.*, *btâ'ik f.*, *btâ'o m.*, *btâ'ha f.*, pl. *btâ'na*, *btâ'kum m.* and *f.*, *btâ'hum m.* and *f.*

Moreover, I would suggest (§ 4) that *mâ-s* are perhaps the separated parts of *muš* = *mâ + hu + šî*. *Muš* is never used for the negation of the perfect or imperfect. One says *mâ šâbariš* = “he did not wait;” *mâ bifhamnâš* = “he does not understand us;” but *'andi muš waqt* = “I have no time.”

I have always heard the first *a* of the demonstrative pronouns (§ 10) *hâda* and *hâdi*, pronounced long when standing alone. There is, however, a tendency to shorten the first vowel in the contracted form of the pronoun and article, when the noun begins with the same letter and thus causes a double consonant in pronunciation; *e. g.*, *haš šâbbâr* = “this dyer,” but *hâl-kasr* = “this fracture.”

In addition to *eiya* for the interrogative pronoun “which?” (§ 14) one hears also *ei m.*, and, when approaching a camp in the darkness, I have heard men call out “*šüzzul*” = “who is there?” Löhr gives *wêš izzôl* (§ 15) as the formula—to which one answers, “a friend” or “enemy,” as the case may be. Again, I have heard *fûlân* (§ 16) more often than *flân*, and *mâ had* than *mâ hâda* for “no one.” The term *walâ waḥad* should also be given. I differ also as to the rendering of the vowels in *walâ šî*. I think the last two should be long, as in *šî* always, whereas those of *išî* are always short.

I would observe in regard to the special forms given (§ 26) that the abbreviations *'am* or even *'an* are equally used with *'ammâl* to express the present condition; *'am btiktbu* = “are you writing?” (pl.) The participle *râih* is used to express such forms as *râihin bniktib* = “we are about to write.” The separate pronoun is not always added.

I would suggest the following additional examples and explanations of Professor Löhr's remarks upon the verb:

(§ 36) In the imperative the 2d per. m. sing. of all verbs *mediae v* or *y* are pronounced with a long vowel.

(§ 39) *Šûf* is often used instead of *šôf*.

(§ 40) *Šâr* is used also in connection with an adjective or participle, and expresses a state; *e. g.*, *šâr aiyân* = “he is ill;” *šâr hâšî* = “it is full.”

(§ 44) The third radical of the verb *tertiæ v*, *y*, or *a* becomes long when the affixes begin with a consonant—after the analogy of the classical verbs; *e. g.*, رَمَيْتَ *ramêt*. This takes place in the 2d and 1st per.

sing. and pl. The ending *u* of the 3d per. pl., as in classical Arabic, is added to the second radical of the stem, without compensation for the third radical. I have heard *nisyu* in addition to *nisu* = "they have forgotten." If a pronominal suffix be added to *a* or *i*—*i. e.*, to the third radical—these are lengthened; *e. g.*, *nisiha* = "he has forgotten her;" *karâhum* = "he has let them." A doubly weak verb of frequent occurrence should be here noticed; *cf.* § 99. *āga* = "to come," which is perhaps the corrupted fourth stem of *جاء*.

Singular	Plural	Imperative
<i>āga</i>	<i>āgu</i>	<i>biḡi</i>
<i>āgat</i>		<i>btīḡi</i>
<i>ḡit</i>	<i>ḡitu</i>	etc.
<i>ḡiti</i>		
<i>ḡit</i>	<i>ḡina</i>	<i>bāḡi</i> pl. <i>nīḡi</i>

One hears also *īga* instead of *āga*. The imperative is not in use. The following forms are substituted:

	<i>ta'āl</i>	<i>ta'āli</i>	<i>ta'ālu</i>
or	<i>ta'a</i>	<i>ta'i</i>	<i>ta'u</i>

(§ 48) I have heard *byāchud* rather than *yōchud* as the imperfect of *achad*.

(§ 49) There is a definite pause after the first syllable of *saal*, which should therefore be written *sa'al sa'alat*; imperative *is'al*, part. *sā'il* or *sāyil*.

(§ 50) The more usual form of the participle of the derived stems is that without the prefix *i*; *e. g.*,

mḡarrib √ *ḡarrab* "to attempt" *mkâtib* √ *kâtak*

II stem *mḡarrab*

III stem *mkâtab* "to correspond"

(§ 74) *az'āḡ* = "to disturb" may be added to the list of verbs of the fourth stem.

(§ 75) *'āwan* = "to help" is a verb med. rad. *v* of the IV stem. *'aman* = "to believe" is a verb, radical hemza, IV stem.

(§ 86) The verbs *idda'a* = "to pretend" and *istawa* = "to be ripe" (doubly weak) should be added to those of the eighth stem, with a weak third radical. The prefix characteristic of the VIII stem is often omitted in the dialect, *e. g.*, *štara* instead of *istara* = "he has bought."

(§ 90) I would add two verbs of the tenth stem, first radical hemza: *istā'zan* = "to ask permission;" *ista'hal* = "to deserve."

(§ 99) I am interested to observe that the verb *wi'i* (§ 9) "to take care, to be attentive" is given as complete, whereas repeated inquiry has led me to believe that in colloquial Arabic it is used merely in the imperative.

A few variations may be suggested in regard to nouns (p. 67):

(§ 149) A more frequent form of *sultāni* is *sultāniye*.

(§ 155) Two frequent forms of diminutive may be added: *kleb* = "little dog;" *wulēd* = "little boy."

(§ 160) I have always heard the pronunciation *yūsuf*, not *yūsif*.

It should also be observed that *sene* = "year" has the regular masculine plural *senin*.

(§ 161) Titles of foreign origin should be added to the list of irregular plurals; e. g., *bek*, *bakawât*; *aṛa*, *aṛawât*. The word *id* = "hand" has two plurals, *deiyât* and *iyâdi*.

I note also the following points in relation to terms expressing number:

(§ 180) I have always heard the first *a* short, in the word *waḥad waḥade*.

(§ 184) In compound ordinals the shorter form *ḥâdi* is often used for *ilḥâdi*; e. g., *ḥâdi w-chamsin* = "fifty-first."

(§ 185) The two parts of a fraction are expressed by the dual; $\frac{2}{3}$ = *sub'en*, and not *tnên min sab'a*.

A few additions should be made to the observations upon prepositions (p. 83). For example, the use of '*ala ma*' and *la* might be given in the following connections:

el-ḥaqq 'alêna = "we are wrong."

el-ḥaqq ma'hum = "they are right."

el-ḥaqq muš ma'kum = "you are not right."

lamin 'alêna mašâri? = "to whom do we owe money?"

qâddêš mašâri ilo 'alêk? = "how much money do you owe him?"

ilna 'alêkum frankên = "you owe us two francs."

I would remark, in connection with the chapter on adverbs and particles (§ 196) that *baqâ* or *bîqî* is not only "at last" or "yet," but is also used in entreaty; e. g., *iktîb lî baqâ* = "write to me, please;" while, compounded with *mâ*, it has the sense of "never."

There are certain useful rules which might with advantage have been added to the chapter on syntax. It is, for example, well to know that, contrary to classical usage, the verb is always plural when it follows upon two or more subjects, but that before collective nouns the masculine singular is used, whereas the masculine plural follows two subjects of which one is masculine, the other feminine. The examples given in (§ 201) would have been simplified by the explanation that, when two verbs belong to the same subject, both—contrary to literary usage—follow. To the remarks on the syntactical use of the conditional (§ 209) should be added the rule that, in conditional sentences introduced by *isa* or *in* = "if," the auxiliary verb *kâm* is not conjugated, but is directly connected with the preposition; e. g., *in kânni* = "if I were;" *in kannak* = "if thou wert."

We have double cause to welcome this little volume; not merely that of its practical utility to the increasing number of students visiting

Palestine, but also another, perhaps more widespread, that it is a valuable addition to the comparative study of Arabic dialects.

I cannot but regret some lack of explanation in connection with the verbs. Although it may be said that a valuable supplement is to be found in the numerous paradigms and illustrations given, there are cases in which more precise rules would have added to the value of the grammar, the more perhaps because of the anomalous character of the dialect, and because attention is not called to its relation to the classical forms.

The lexicon and reading matter will be of great service to the student of dialectical vocabulary and construction.

HANS H. SPOER.

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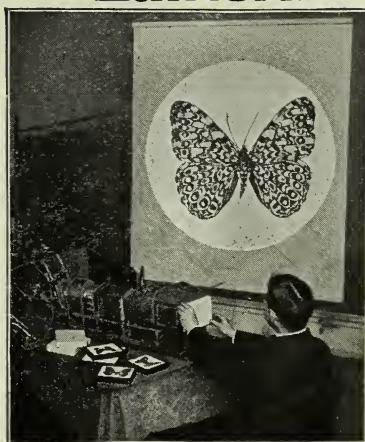
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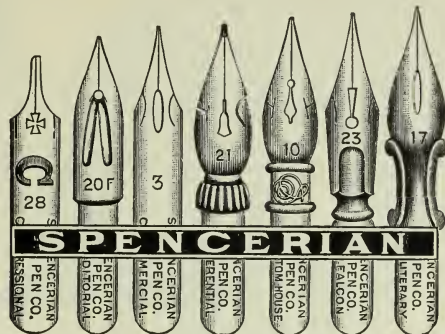
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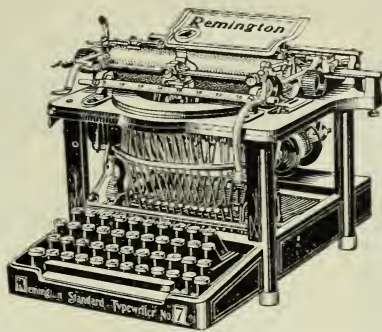
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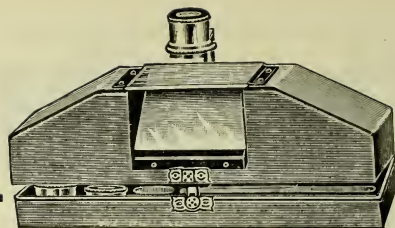
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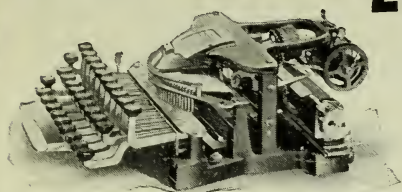
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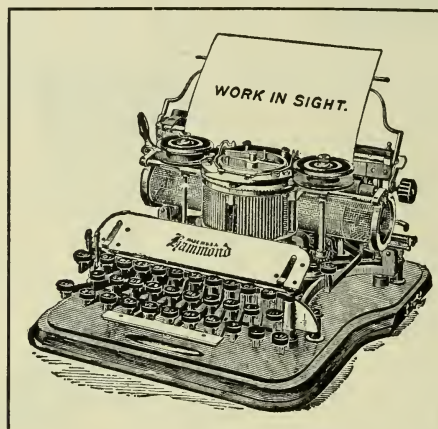
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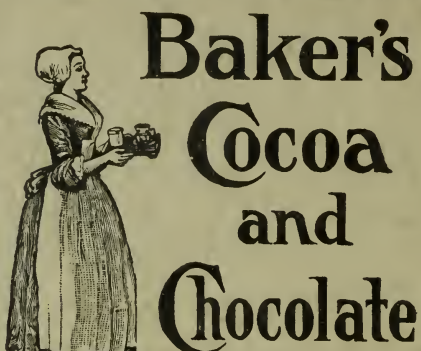
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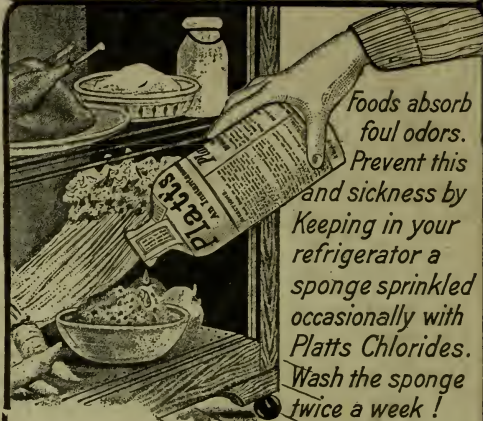
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